

The Nation

VOL. XLVIII.—NO. 1232.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1889.

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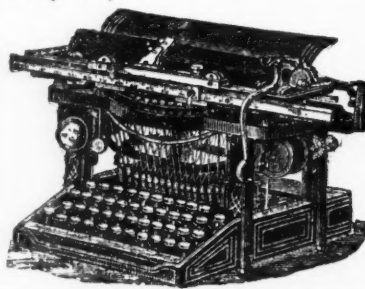
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During the month of January probably more coupons upon Government and other bonds fall due, more dividends are declared, more interest is paid, and more profits generally accrue to investors than at any other season of the year. Fortunate persons, therefore, who find remaining in their hands from these sources a margin above their immediate necessities will, if they are also wise and provident, seek at once a profitable form of reinvestment. Opportunities for such reinvestment will never be wanting; the difficulty will be to select such forms as offer not merely a *fair* profit, but also a *safe* profit; and the cautious and far-sighted investor will view with suspicion the tempting offers of extraordinary returns that are made on every hand. He will seek the advice of those men whose individual successes have been permanent. He will select for the guardians of his savings, and for his guides in investing them, men whose personal integrity is known and who possess an experience that fits them for the trust.

Prominent among the forms of investment that are viewed with favor is the "Western Mortgage," and the reason is not far to seek. The great West, with its boundless natural resources of infinite variety, and its rapid development during recent years, requires capital. In the very nature of the case, also, it offers a safer field for mortgages than the East, where increase in material values must hereafter be slow. Here, to use a commonly understood expression, everything has "got its growth"; mortgages are based, as a rule, upon a higher valuation of the property, and the important element of safety receives less consideration. The field, the methods, and the necessities of the Western farmer are measured by a more ample standard than that which prevails in the East. He sows, ploughs, and reaps over the square mile instead of the acre, and his machinery, implements and storage facilities must be correspondingly larger. His need of business capital, therefore, is large, and the security offered by his real property is greater because it cost him far less in the beginning than an equal amount in the East, and is fully as valuable to-day.

Satisfaction with this form of investment, when negotiated by reliable agents, increases yearly, because results have been profitable alike to the mortgagor and to the mortgagee; and in this expression we have again sounded the key-note of success. Everything, or almost everything, depends upon the agent. "The business," as the New York *Observer* said, editorially, in its issue of May 3d, 1888, "depends for its safety, and success in the last resort, upon the character of the parties who engage in it." Continuing, the *Observer* called attention to the company of which Charles R. Otis, manufacturer of the Otis elevators, is President, and the Messrs. Morse, the owners of the Morse Building, and sons of the founders of the *Observer*, are Vice-President and Treasurer, and added, "persons having money to invest will appreciate the trustworthy character of such gentlemen as these."

The company referred to is The Mortgage Investment Company, of New York, whose offices are in the Morse Building, at No. 140 Nassau Street, and of which *The Churchman*, the leading publication of the Protestant Episcopal Church, said, November 17th, 1888: "It is believed to be the only company of the kind

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1889.

The Week.

THERE appears to be no doubt that the present phase of the Samoan trouble is due to a treacherous attack by Mataafa's forces on the German boat's crew who had come ashore to protect German property. The very large number of German dead and wounded, nearly half the force, shows that the attack was unexpected, and that no preparation had been made for it. To expect that the German Government would allow an outrage of this sort to pass unpunished is to expect forbearance which Americans, under similar circumstances, would be the last to show. If any savages or semi-barbarians made a similar attack on an American force, we doubt very much whether the demand for reparation or punishment would not be far louder and deeper than has yet been heard in Germany. In seeking satisfaction from Mataafa and his men, Prince Bismarck is clearly in his right; but in covering everybody on the islands, neutrals as well as belligerents, with martial law, the German authorities on the spot, as the Prince now acknowledges, went too far. "War" with Mataafa could only be made an excuse for establishing German military rule over the whole territory if all living in it acknowledged Mataafa's authority. But the English and Americans there have been living under their own consuls, and enjoying privileges of which no follies or crimes on Mataafa's part can deprive them. In repudiating the action of the German commander on the spot, therefore, Prince Bismarck has acted like a sensible man. It is unfortunate for the Republicans in the Senate that he should have done so under a protest and remonstrance from Mr. Bayard, but these little mishaps are unavoidable.

The amusing information is sent by the Washington correspondent of the *Times* that Steinberger, whose Samoan experiences during President Grant's Administration we describe elsewhere, has sent a letter to Congressman Cox suggesting that his advice would be of great value in settling the present controversy with Prince Bismarck. He suggests that he be called to the capital and asked "to set forth more in detail the particulars of the policy" which he himself sought to impress upon the Samoans during his sojourn there. As the fruit of that policy was a request from the United States Consul and all the missionaries in Samoa that Steinberger be removed by force in order to put a stop to the demoralization which he was causing in the islands, there does not seem to be much necessity for advice about details.

It is much to be regretted that Senator Allison has seen fit to decline the position of Secretary of the Treasury tendered to him

by the President elect. We have stated the reasons why we considered the selection of Mr. Allison for this place a very judicious one on Mr. Harrison's part. We do not see where his equal is to be found, or one approaching him in qualifications for the office—always supposing that Senator Sherman is out of the list. Not the least of the troubles is, that Mr. Allison's declination opens the door to a lot of more or less disreputable "claimants," such as Tom Platt, Billy Mahone, etc. We trust that Gen. Harrison will, as regards this office at least, look upon all claimants as *prima facie* disqualified. Here is one office which should seek the man, not the man the office.

It is a gratifying announcement that President Cleveland intends to resume the practice of his profession as soon as his term of office expires. It is especially gratifying to the people of New York city that he will make this metropolis his home and the scene of his future activity. It is known that Mr. Cleveland is not rich enough to live without work, and even if he were so, it would not be best that he should. He is still in the prime of life, and although honored as highly as any man can be under our form of government, he still has a career of usefulness before him, which will be watched with eager and affectionate interest by his countrymen in every State of the Union.

The choice of Col. Aldace F. Walker of the Inter-State Commerce Commission as Chairman of the new Inter-State Railway Association at Chicago is an excellent one, and, if he accepts the place, the public may fairly expect to see the roads held to substantial compliance with the Inter-State Law. Col. Walker is a first-rate lawyer, with long experience of contested railroad litigation, and he is also a man of excellent executive ability, still under fifty years of age. It is well known that Judge Cooley, Chairman of the Commission, is determined to bring the roads into full compliance with the law, peaceably if he can, forcibly if he must. Since their association on the Inter-State Commission, a friendship has grown up between Judge Cooley and his younger colleague, and the presence of the two men at the head of the Commission and of the roads would undoubtedly insure good faith and harmonious action between the bodies.

The renewed activity at the Stock Exchange noticed during the past three or four days seems to have impressed everybody as something more than a "spurt." Those who are at the focus of speculation can tell very readily whether a demand for securities is artificial or real, whether it has its springs among the liabilities of the Exchange or with the public. They can even distinguish between different classes of the

public so as to judge whether a buying movement is likely to be sustained, and whether it is of a discriminating sort or not. The opinion seems to prevail that the present movement is real, that it is not temporary, and that it is founded in reason. The prevailing depression has lasted as long as depressions usually last that are not veritable panics and commercial crises. Among the causes pointing to a change in the temper of the market, probably the most important is the evidence that railway managers have at last recognized the necessity of peace, and have adopted means adequate to secure it, and that bankers have recognized the necessity of getting a fair return on railway capital already invested before putting any more at risk.

We have at last received a copy of the report of "Mr. Byrne of Boston" on the "sugar frauds." It is very voluminous, 174 pages of small print. It will take some time to analyze it, but we cannot resist the temptation to reproduce the following letter from the introduction.

"I will say, at this point, that, prior to taking up this subject as a journalist, I had no acquaintance with its person directly or indirectly engaged in the perpetration of the fraud of sugar. Neither did I assume the work at the request of any person so engaged, nor have I received or had promise of emolument or benefit of any kind made me during or subsequent to the completion of this work of investigation from such source.

"Purely from a journalistic standpoint did I undertake the work, prompted by those aims which stimulate honest, fearless, honorable newspaper enterprise, namely, to secure truthful news, ventilate proven wrongs or injustice imposed upon a community, in order to give deserved publicity to said wrongs, and, if possible, assist in securing such wholesome relief as honest administration of law and equity contemplates in behalf of law-abiding citizens and communities.

"If, therefore, I have been charged as a prejudiced investigator, by reason of being a critic of Boston, from whence the complaint emanates, or that the journal which I have the honor to represent has assumed the cause of Boston sugar merchants, right or wrong, I can and do deny said charges without hesitation."

He doubtless had no promise of pay before he began, because no sensible man outside of "journalism" would think of hiring him as an investigator of any subject. He probably did the job on speculation, and, in fact, tried to sell his stuff to a newspaper in this city before he was permitted to dump it into the Treasury.

When the Chase Copyright Bill was introduced into the Fiftyeth Congress, it contained a provision which seemed to us to embody a principle as radically bad as the principle of international copyright was good. We pointed this out in an article printed January 5, 1888, and that our point was well made is proved by the fact that the bill was amended in this respect and passed by the Senate after such amendment was made. Yet some anonymous opponent of international copyright has reprinted, without authority, the article referred to, and laid a copy upon the desk of every member of Congress. The dis-

honesty of this proceeding is made manifest when it is pointed out and emphasized that the provision then objected to, the *absolute* prohibition of the importation of foreign copyrighted books, *no longer exists in the bill*. It is sincerely to be hoped that the opponents of literary honesty will not be enabled, at the eleventh hour, through contemptible and dishonest means, to influence a single vote in preventing the House of Representatives from granting a fair discussion of this measure, which—be its shortcomings what they may—will at least serve to put us in the ranks of honest nations.

The schemes for the admission of Territories as States have got into such a tangle between the two branches of Congress that it is generally accepted as settled that nothing will be done in the matter before the expiration of the Fiftieth Congress. This outcome will not be regretted by the country. The policy of admitting Territories by wholesale, as proposed by the "Omnibus Bill," is bad in itself, and the inclusion of New Mexico among the projected States is without possible defence. That only half American community ought to wait a long time, while the others have waited so long that they can easily stand a little further delay. Partisanship must be expected to affect the decision of even so essentially a non-partisan question as the creation of States, but it is much better that it should be applied under circumstances which enable one of the parties to be held to account, than in a compromise measure which balances a New Mexico against a Washington, and causes both parties to unite in defending an act which each by itself would hold quite indefensible.

The Granger Meat Bill now pending in the Pennsylvania Legislature is having a fine run as a new device in the way of protection. The same measure has been introduced in the Legislatures of Ohio and Tennessee. It provides that no meat shall be imported into the State unless the animal, before it is killed, shall have been inspected and pronounced sound and healthy by an inspector of the State within the limits of the State. As the only satisfactory and scientific inspection of meat is that which is made upon the meat itself, an inspection of the animal being merely a diagnosis leading to uncertain results, we suggest that chloroform be administered to the animal and a piece cut out of him and submitted to microscopical tests before he is slaughtered. If he is found to be diseased, the wound can be sewed up, the proper remedies applied, and the animal's life saved. After the meat bill is passed, we shall have further suggestions to make. It is well known that the danger to health from canned meats and vegetables is greater than from fresh meat that is exposed on the butcher's block, because the eye of the practised buyer can generally detect a bad piece of meat, while nobody can tell what is inside a tin can till it is opened. A bill to prohibit the sale of canned corn, tomatoes, etc., unless the articles are in-

spected within the State before the cans are sealed, would be a much more rational measure than the Granger Meat Bill, and would be equally effective for the purposes of protection.

The Chicago Board of Trade has taken notice of the Granger Meat Bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature, and has passed resolutions on the subject declaring that "the pretence that dressed meats are diseased, advanced by the adherents of these bills, is a sham; that the sole purpose and design is to cripple and impair one of the great industrial enterprises of the country, and the false charges made by the supporters of such legislation will injure the reputation of our meat products at home and abroad, and damage the cattle raising industry of the entire country"; also, that the proposed legislation is "unwarranted, and without precedent, and calculated to provoke retaliation." Touching retaliation it might be well to consider the subject of shoddy. During the Presidential campaign it came out that a dozen shoddy mills are in active operation, competing with the wool-grower in the production of cloth for the poor man. The owners of these mills were highly indignant over the Mill's bill, because they said it would ruin their trade by making wool almost as cheap as shoddy. Now why should not Illinois adopt measures to prevent the sale of any woollen cloth or carpets in that State unless the materials composing them have been first inspected within the State? Why not apply the same rule to confectionery, which we all know is very liable to adulteration with noxious coloring matter? Then there is a long list of patent medicines, of which Pennsylvania furnishes a goodly supply; why should not Illinois require an inspection of the ingredients of these by a State officer within her own limits before allowing any to be sold there? We can see a widely expanding vista of possible retaliatory measures if the Granger Meat Bill becomes a law.

People with muddled ideas as to the causes of the car strike, and the "rights of labor" generally, should read the lucid and vigorous letter which Mr. Scribner, President of the Belt Line Road, has addressed to Mayor Grant. The whole matter is set forth there in terms so clear that no man can fail to understand it. Mr. Scribner says that ex-Convict Magee's Executive Committee of Division District No. 1 waited upon him in December last with a complete plan in detail for the management of his company and the running of his road, and requesting him to bind the company to follow the rules and regulations laid down therein for the ensuing year. His signature was demanded on or before the 7th of January following. He had never heard of the Committee, or the Division District No. 1 before, or of any of the men belonging to either. Because he refused his signature to the document, the strike was ordered, the stables and buildings of the company were surrounded and put under siege, the company's tracks were barricaded by boulders

and torn-up pavements, and the company found itself compelled to guard its few employees who remained with it with a force of police, and to convey by "stealth and stratagem" food for the support of both men and guard. After enumerating these and many other similar vicissitudes of the company, growing out of its refusal to allow an unknown body of men to manage its business for it, Mr. Scribner says that the company pays the city about \$150 a day in taxes, and he wishes to ask aloud what it is paying them for.

The *Tribune* says:

"It is overstrained and unreasonable to say that the street-railroad companies would surrender their franchises into the control of an irresponsible body, and prove false to the rights of their stockholders, if they should come to any agreement with the officers of the labor organization. If what the men demand is reasonable, they have a right to appoint a committee to represent them, and the appointment of such a committee is not an excuse for refusing to grant the reasonable demand. As to the organization, also, it may be, and the *Tribune* believes that it is, exceedingly injurious to the interests of the employees, and eminently calculated to prevent the attainment of the most favorable terms in the relations with the companies. But the workers have the right to organize, and unless the organization makes unreasonable demands, public opinion will not sustain the companies in refusing to consider demands made for the men by such a body."

The real point is missed here. The question is not whether the companies shall allow a representative committee to make a statement of grievances on the part of the men and communicate through the committee with the men. It is whether they shall make a contract or agreement with such a committee binding themselves to manage their business in a certain way. Even if it were fair to the public and the stockholders to make such an agreement with anybody touching the management of a business carried on under a franchise in the public streets—which we deny—it would be impossible to make it with any organization which offered no guarantees of permanency, of good character, and of ability to carry out its part of the contract. Magee's Committee offered no such guarantees. It had no real control over the men. It was itself liable to disappear at any moment, and it was composed of persons whom few would trust around the corner with five dollars.

The ludicrous figure which the members of the State Board of Arbitration have been cutting during the recent strike has probably furnished them less amusement than it has the public. They are compelled by law to hasten to the scene of a strike and offer their services—that is, open a headquarters and hang out a sign, "Arbitrating Done Here." The absurdity of the performance becomes apparent when a board of rational men is compelled to request a president of a great corporation to "arbitrate" on such a series of "demands" as Mr. Scribner shows were made upon his and other companies in this instance. One of the most zealous members of the Board hired a horse and buggy and started out to urge the car companies to accept the Board's services, but he got so

brusque a refusal from the first one he asked that he went back to the headquarters and resumed the passive rôle. After three days of fruitless waiting the members of the Board left town, satisfied that they could do nothing to help forward a settlement. This is the usual outcome of their labors, and we may add that their success in practice is about the same as characterizes all Labor legislation. They cost the State \$11,000 a year in salaries alone—\$3,000 for each of the three members of the Board, and \$2,000 for the Secretary. Of course, they get their travelling expenses and hotel bills paid also by the State, so that in one way or another they cost the taxpayers quite a pretty little sum—all in Labor's name.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Crosby's bill, authorizing a detailed report by the authorities of the various prisons on the effects caused by the Yates bill, will be passed. Such a report would be of great value in showing the people of the State the almost incalculable harm which that bill has done by stopping labor in the prisons. It would be likely to raise such a storm of indignation as would not only ward off the danger of such another demagogic measure this year, but might also arouse the Legislature to the necessity of some kind of rational action on the convict-labor question. It might also become a precedent for authorizing similar reports upon the effects of other laws. There are hundreds of measures made laws at Albany each year whose effects, if set forth in detail a year or so later, would cause great astonishment in the public mind. Some of them are introduced with full knowledge of their mischievous character, but many of them do harm because of the ignorance in which they have been conceived and passed.

The advocates of prohibition in Kansas find more and more evidence all the while to justify their contention that the policy is proving a success. In his message to the Legislature Gov. Martin, the retiring Governor, declared that prohibition had abolished the saloon, and that its abolition had not only promoted the general prosperity, but also enormously diminished crime, as proved by the facts that, notwithstanding a steady increase in population, the number of criminals in the penitentiary is steadily decreasing; that many of the jails are empty, and the rest show a marked falling-off in the number of prisoners; that the business of police courts in the larger cities has dwindled to one-fourth its former proportions, while in cities of the second and third class the occupation of police authorities is practically gone; and that the dockets of the higher courts are no longer burdened with long lists of criminal cases, not a single such case being on the docket in the capital district, containing a population of nearly 60,000, when the recent term began. The Governor held that these facts had reconciled those who doubted the success, and silenced those who opposed the policy, of prohibiting the liquor traffic, and his view is shared by Judge Johnston of the

Supreme Court, who, in his recent annual address as President of the State Bar Association, declared that prohibition "may be said to be as much a part of our political system as the right of trial by jury or the freedom of speech."

The prohibition law in Iowa went into operation July 4, 1886, although months elapsed before it was applied in many localities. In December, 1886, the number of convicts in the State penitentiary was 316; in December, 1887, it had fallen to 286; in December, 1888, it had sunk to 227, although during these two years there has been a perceptible increase in the population of the State. The Prohibitionists naturally "point with pride" to these figures, and it must be confessed that such a showing justifies their claim that prohibition pays in Iowa. The Nebraska Legislature has passed a resolution for the submission to the people of a prohibition amendment. Nebraska was one of the first States to introduce a high license system, which has proved successful in materially reducing the number of saloons and increasing the revenues of the chief cities and towns. This has served to delay the crystallization of sentiment in favor of prohibition, but, as the State, like Kansas and Iowa, is mainly composed of small agricultural communities, it has seemed inevitable for some time that the Legislature would submit a constitutional amendment. It appears probable that the people, like those of Kansas and Iowa, will ratify it now that they are to have the chance.

There seems to be a growing suspicion in Pennsylvania that there is more "politics" than temperance in the sudden zeal of the Republicans of the State for prohibition. The passage of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution by the Legislature, under "Boss" Quay's inspiration, and its approval by the Governor, have set many people to thinking, and there is clearly going to be a good deal of discussion before the people come to the polls to vote upon it. The State has at present an excellent high license law which is working well; there was no strong demand for a change from that, and no apparent cause for the sudden action of the Republicans in the Legislature. It is suspected, therefore, that there is some political trick in the movement, and one theory is that the Republican managers think a prohibition law would work for their benefit in Pennsylvania as it has in Rhode Island. In the latter State it is well known that the liquor-dealers pay little attention to the law, and that they pay regular assessments to the Republican managers with the understanding that they shall not be interfered with. This has been found to be so valuable a source of income to the campaign funds that Republican managers in other States than Pennsylvania are said to be casting longing eyes upon it.

The woman suffragists have been counting with much confidence upon Dakota, but

the rejection of a bill giving women the suffrage, by the decisive vote of 28 to 17, in the lower branch of the Legislature, shows that they must wait some time yet for that victory. A similar measure has failed of passage in the Ohio Legislature. Unusual interest in the matter is manifested in Maine this year, and the petitions of some women for the ballot are accompanied by the remonstrances of others. In Massachusetts the friends of the cause are hopeful of securing municipal suffrage, but it is not yet clear whether a majority of the Legislature are converted.

Mr. George W. Smalley telegraphs to *The Tribune* from London the following in an account of the American Minister's departure for America on Thursday:

"If, however, there be in America any who wish the people of the two countries to be united, they, and they only, have caused a report and resent these manifestations of good will to the American Minister. They, and they only, are entitled to condemn Mr. Phelps' four years of honorable service abroad. He has, from beginning to end, done his country honor as well as service, and no small part of the honor offered him here is because the English know him, respect him, and admire him as one of the most American of Americans."

But how does this coincide with the same Mr. Smalley's account sent by cable to the *Tribune* on November 6 last, of Mr. Phelps' conduct as the leading figure in an international negotiation, which the *Tribune's* headlines characterized as follows:

"Mr. Cleveland's Bargain with the British Premier: Trading His Country's Honor for Electorating Purposes. The Whole Shameful Trick Disclosed. A Secret Understanding with Lord Salisbury. The President did not dismiss Lord Salisbury until he had been assured that England would not be Angry. Lord Salisbury Agreed to His Envoy's Dismissal for the Sake of Having Cleveland Re-elected. It is Cleveland's Recollection He will not Forget His Obligations to the British Government."

The death of the heir to the Austrian throne comes at an unfortunate moment in the affairs of the empire, as the Hungarians are violently excited over a new army bill introduced in the Hungarian Parliament, reorganizing the military force of the kingdom somewhat on the German model. Many things in the measure have excited alarm, as tending to efface the marks of Hungarian nationality in the military organization, but the principal thing is the exaction of a knowledge of the German language for officers of the reserve. The bill has had to be carried through by a threat on M. Tisza's part to resign if it failed, and in the teeth of great popular agitation, somewhat favored by a letter of protest from the aged Kossuth, now living in Italy, and hating the Hapsburg dynasty apparently as cordially as ever. It is unfortunate that at such a crisis the line of transmission of the Crown should be suddenly changed to the Emperor's brother, of whom, and of whose sons, but little is known. The only bit of political comfort in the situation is to be found in the fact that the late Prince Rudolph and the Emperor of Germany were at loggerheads, and never likely to be any better friends—a matter of some moment between States in which the monarch counts for so much.

THE GENESIS OF OUR SAMOAN TROUBLE.

WE presume hundreds of thousands of American citizens have been asking during the past fortnight how we come to be in any degree responsible for the peace or prosperity of the Samoan Islands in the South Pacific any more than for any other islands in the same ocean—the Gilbert Islands, for instance, or the Ellice Islands, or the Phoenix Islands, all of which are nearer to us than the Navigator or Samoan Islands. The Samoan Islands are about 5,000 miles away from the nearest port of the United States. They are not even within our hemisphere, as they lie 15 degrees, or 900 miles, south of the equator. They do not belong to the American world, either geographically or politically, any more than does Sumatra, Java, or the Philippine Islands. In fact, they belong geographically to the Australian system, and are sure to be absorbed eventually into the great Australian Republic, which is slowly but surely rising in the South Pacific. The Samoan Islands are only 1,200 miles from New Zealand. They are only about 1,500 from the port of Sydney, or about five days' sail, which must, if they ever become civilized and commercial, be their principal market. In truth, unless all the signs by which the future of states and nations is forecast, fail us, they are as certain to become part of Australia as Washington Territory is to become an American State. The fact that they lie on our road to New Zealand and Australia will not save them for us, because we cannot possibly claim every place, however distant, which it is convenient for us to touch at in our voyages.

Moreover, our public policy as defined by the party coming into power is opposed to foreign traffic. We ought not, it is said, to have any trade or intercourse with New Zealand or Australia, in which we accept the products of those countries in payment for our goods, or accept anything but cash; and neither of them is now, ever has been, or is ever likely to be able to carry on a cash business with us, or any business but barter. Consequently we do not need, and are not likely to need, a stopping-place on the road to New Zealand, or anything more than a coaling station for such passenger ships as we may subsidize for the purpose of encouraging American shipbuilders.

How, then, did we become interested in Samoa at all? Well, in this way. In 1872 Commander Meade of the Navy entered into an agreement with the Chief of the Bay of Pago-Pago for the exclusive privilege of establishing a United States naval station in that harbor. Then certain "highly respectable commercial persons" called President Grant's attention to the importance of our growing trade with the islands in the South Pacific, and he determined to send one Steinberger, who was doubtless one of "the highly respectable commercial persons," out on a voyage of discovery to see about it. In fact, Steinberger solicited the mission himself, and was strongly recommended for it by Gen. Horace Porter. Who Stein-

berger was, does not appear in the official reports. It was in the very noon of the Grant régime, and everybody in Republican politics was happy and hopeful, and few questions were asked. Parson Newman had started round the world already, as an "inspector of consuls," in the other direction. Steinberger was to inspect the Samoans. It is right to add that before this, to wit, in 1872, some of "the highly respectable commercial persons" had already got "the kings and rulers of the Samoan Islands" (names not mentioned) to send on a petition to President Grant asking for the annexation of the islands to the United States. Here is the petition, which displays a very remarkable acquaintance with our political literature, and especially the Declaration of Independence, for gentlemen whose habitual costume was a neat tattoo and a breech cloth:

(Translation.)

APIA, UPOLA, Samoa.

To His Excellency the President of the United States of America:

May blessings from the Almighty rest upon your Excellency; this is our letter to your Excellency.

We, the chiefs and rulers of Samoa, deem it necessary for our future well-being and better establishment of Christianity, free institutions, fellowship of mankind, protection of life and property, and to secure the blessings of liberty and free trade to ourselves and future generations, to petition the President of the United States of America to annex these our islands to the United States of America.

Given under our hands and seals this ninth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two.

The mention of "free trade" shows, however, that the minds of these cultured savages had been already poisoned by the British missionaries, or by the emissaries of the Cobden Club.

Steinberger started in June, 1874, with \$2,000 of United States money in his pocket, in a schooner yacht chartered by himself, and on the 6th of August sighted the field of his investigations. He found an "American Polynesian Land Company" already established on the islands, which was "contracting with the natives for immense tracts of land at nominal prices," paid partly in powder and lead, as civil war was raging, and partly on two years' credit. This was probably not remotely connected with that petition of the "kings and rulers" already cited. He made a long report on the scenery, fauna, flora, products, and geography, climate, and people of the islands, ingratiated himself with the chiefs and people, revised their laws and Constitution, made peace between the warring tribes, delivered them long addresses in answer to their clamorous demands for American protection, and encouraged them to hope for it, and came home early in 1874. He soon had to report to Mr. Fish, however, that the Samoans could not get along without him. They insisted that he must come back to rule them, to carry on the Government he "had been mainly instrumental in creating." So he proposed that our Government should extend its protection to the islands, and send him (Steinberger) back in a man-of-war as Governor, with "a secretary, equipments for say 100 men, as a native guard, clothing, muskets, a battery of

four field-pieces (brass), with ammunition, a botanist, a taxidermist, a photographic artist, a surgeon, and microscopist." He also drew up a proclamation to the Samoan people, full of religious and moral advice and promises of his coming back to take care of them, and asked Secretary Fish to endorse it. This Mr. Fish was too prudent to do. The President, however, did agree to send him back again as a "special agent," with a free passage in a man-of-war, and a present of some old arms and ammunition for the Samoan Government from the Navy Department, then presided over by Mr. Robeson. He was not long on the islands before he got himself made "Premier" by King Malietoa, and soon became such a meddlesome infliction that in October, 1875, the American Consul had to write, at the request of all the missionaries in the islands, to ask whether the United States Government was really responsible for him, and had "authorized him to form a government here in Samoa, because if not, and if the United States would not keep him in the islands by force," they would get the chief to expel him to prevent the "demoralization of the natives then going on"; the Consul heartily endorsing their request. Soon afterwards, Steinberger sent in his resignation as "special agent," while "believing that he might ever retain the confidence of his country." The State Department answered in January, 1876, that Steinberger was no longer in the public service in any capacity, and that his two visits to the islands had "no diplomatic or political significance whatever," and that "he was not authorized or empowered by the United States to form a government in Samoa, or to pledge the United States to sustain in any way, directly or indirectly, any government that he might form or assist in forming." And so the windy but amusing adventurer vanished from the scene.

THE APOLOGY FOR TRUSTS.

THE truth of Adam Smith's observation, that one had only to support every proposal for strengthening the monopolists in order to acquire great popularity and influence and the reputation of understanding trade, has recently received a striking illustration. Mr. George Gunton, whose volume upon the philosophy of the eight-hour movement, published two years ago, failed to gain for him even rank as a "theorist," is now warmly applauded and widely quoted as a "scientific" authority, gifted with practical insight, because of an article which he has contributed to the *Political Science Quarterly* in defence of Trusts.

Mr. Gunton was predisposed to take a favorable view of these combinations by the fundamental principles of his social philosophy. One of the more striking of these he repeats at the outset of the article before us. The charge that Trusts tend to build up monopolies, and drive small capitalists out of business, is dismissed with the broad assertion that "the only economic and social interest the community can possibly have in either the diffusion or concentration of capital (tools) is, that it shall be so employed as to produce

considerable wealth most cheaply." In other words, it makes no difference to the nation whether the interest upon its capital shall go to promote the comfort and the culture of the many or the luxury and idleness of the few. The only advantage which this nation derives from the ownership of its agricultural land by 4,000,000 farmers instead of 40,000 landlords, as in England, is the cheaper production secured thereby. The ruin of small competitors which has marked the advance of the oil monopoly is not even a matter to be considered. The only question which concerns the public is the effect of the monopoly upon prices.

Here Mr. Gunton falls in line with previous defenders of Trusts, and maintains that there is no difference between a Trust and a corporation except in the size and complexity of its organization. Were Trusts responsible instead of irresponsible, and were corporations ever chartered, even in West Virginia, to restrict the production of wealth, instead of to increase it, to raise prices instead of to lower them, this proposition would need as little argument in its behalf as Mr. Gunton furnishes. What is said about Trusts "raising the plane of competition" and minimizing profits is a matter to be judged by experience. Where industries are in the hands of individuals, there are frequent instances of extortion, as every one knows who has looked into the subject of State contracts. The question to be settled is, Does the formation of a permanent combination tend to promote extortion or to restrain it?

In considering the influence of Trusts upon prices, Mr. Gunton naturally makes the record of the Standard Oil Company bear the brunt of his argument. He dwells at length upon the economies which the concentration of capital always secures, and which the managers of the great oil company deserve the highest praise for having instituted, upon a most magnificent scale. In addition to the reduced cost of administration and the common use of improved methods which have been made possible by every Trust, and actual by most of them, the Standard Oil Company has engaged in the manufacture of its own barrels and cans, and above all has constructed pipe lines to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Buffalo, and Cleveland, and is now constructing another to Chicago. In emphasizing these economies, however, the unscientific character of Mr. Gunton's examination betrays itself. He tells us, for instance, that since the company began to manufacture its own tin cans in 1874, their cost has been reduced nearly 50 per cent., and in this way an annual saving of \$4,500,000 has been effected. We are apparently asked to credit this result entirely to the combination, in exactly the same way that during the campaign, when we were told that the price of iron bar had been reduced more than 50 per cent. during the same period, we were asked to attribute that result entirely to protection. The saving which has been effected through the pipe lines stands upon a somewhat different basis, but the benefit which these have conferred upon the public in the

way of cheaper transportation is either carelessly or shrewdly exaggerated. Mr. Gunton states that in 1872, when oil was transported by rail, it cost \$1.50 a barrel to ship it to New York; to-day it costs but 50 cents. The saving upon transportation is therefore estimated at 66.23 per cent. Turning to Poor's Railway Manual, we find that since 1872 the average reduction of freight rates on the Pennsylvania Railroad has been 52 per cent. As this average includes load as well as through freights, it is evident that the public gets its oil transported at but little less than if the pipe lines had never been laid.

Setting aside, then, the question of the economies due to the concentration of capital, we come to the point in which the public is vitally interested. What has been the effect of the combination upon prices? Mr. Gunton shows that in 1871, the year before the Standard Oil Company was organized, the price of crude oil at the wells was 10.52 cents per gallon; the price of refined oil at New York was 24.24 cents. In 1887 the price of crude oil had fallen to 1.59 cents per gallon; the price of refined oil to 6.75 cents. Mr. Gunton substantially admits, though he does not distinctly state, that the Standard has nothing to do with the production of crude oil. Saying nothing of the percentages of reduction in the prices of the two commodities, he calls attention to the fact that the aggregate reduction in the price of refined oil has been almost twice as great as that in the case of crude oil, amounting to over 17 cents per gallon. Inasmuch as one thousand million gallons of oil were refined last year, he estimates the saving to the consumers at \$174,000,000.

The one question of scientific interest—How much of this reduction in prices has been due to the existence of the Trust?—Mr. Gunton completely ignores. Fortunately, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for January this very question is treated by Prof. E. Benjamin Andrews of Cornell University, whose article upon "Trusts According to Official Investigations" is neither an arraignment nor a defence of these institutions, but a remarkably clear and judicial examination of their workings. The result of Mr. Andrews's investigation of the effect of combination upon the prices of oil is as follows:

From 1861 to 1872, inclusive—before any Trust whatever existed—the net average annual percentage of decrease in the price of refining oil and carrying it to tide-water was 10.4332.
From 1873 to 1881, inclusive, the Trust's influent formative period, the figure was 7.0897.
From 1882 to 1887, inclusive, the years of its full maturity and vigor, it was 2.2879.

Mr. Andrews is not disposed to deny the economies in production which the Trust has introduced. What he does deny is, that these economies are turned to the benefit of the consumers. From the official investigation he finds that the Standard Oil Trust, upon its enormous capitalization, has earned dividends averaging between 12½ and 13 per cent. Supposing "water to have mingled with oil to the extent of, but one third of the original certificate capital, the old stock must have been bringing its possessors 18 or 20 per cent. yearly." The Standard

Oil combination was formed for the express purpose of securing a rise in profits by resisting a fall in price. It has succeeded in accomplishing its aim.

Such being the effect of combination upon prices in the refining of oil—a commodity which is being produced at the wells in rapidly increasing quantities and must be sold or lost—it is scarcely worth while to direct attention to the doubling of prices by the Cotton Bagging Trust in our own country, the Salt Trust in England, and the Copper Trust in France. The important question which remains to be considered is, Can we look to competition for relief from the present evils of combination? Upon this point Mr. Gunton repeats an old proposition, which should be stricken out of the political economies, while Mr. Andrews states a new one which, with some qualification, perhaps, should be inserted in its stead. Mr. Gunton, with easy optimism, maintains that excessive profits are impossible, since self-interest will dictate to invested capital that it is much better to reduce prices than to risk competition. Upon this question no new evidence need be cited. The fact that for years past most of the gas companies of New England have been capitalized at \$15 per thousand feet of gas sold, whereas a capitalization of \$5 per thousand is admitted to be sufficient for medium sized works, shows conclusively that where monopoly is possible, attempted competition is apt to result in a waste of capital without relief to the public; each successive paralleling of lines or duplicating of works rendering reduction of rates more difficult and the danger of further competition more remote. The proposition stated by Mr. Andrews is of exactly the opposite tenor. It is that, in order to establish monopoly prices in any business, it is not necessary for the syndicate to control the entire production. "Immediate mastery of a decided majority is practically the mastery of all." The Canadian Trust Committee finds that the twenty-five mills which are outside of the Oatmeal Millers' Association invariably "avail themselves of whatever advantage the combination gives them to keep up prices." Mr. Andrews believes that the principle in such cases is similar to that of rent, or the fixing of prices by the dearest cost of production. The inference which he draws must be accepted as at least a most important suggestion regarding the future of industrial combinations. "Unless," he says, "the small producers, who pretend to compete with the Trusts, can so enlarge their capacity as to supply the market—of course, an impossibility—it will remain, as heretofore, for the Trusts to say what prices shall be."

THE TARIFF ON WORKS OF ART.

THE Mills bill as it was presented to the House of Representatives contained a clause putting upon the free list "Paintings, in oil and water colors, and statuary not otherwise provided for"; the latter term to include the "professional productions of a statuary or of a sculptor only." But when the bill came to be discussed by the Committee of

the Whole in the House, this provision was stricken out without debate, upon the motion of Mr. Breckinridge of Arkansas, and the existing tariff provisions in regard to these productions were, therefore, left unchanged.

In the voluminous document issued by the Senate as a substitute for the Mills bill—from which it differs in being, not merely a bill amending the present law, but an attempt to recodify the existing tariff legislation—the provisions now in force relating to the importation of works of art are set out in full, and certain alterations proposed. Upon paintings and statuary, as described above, there is an ad-valorem duty of 30 per cent.—the act of 1883 having trebled the former rate of 10 per cent.; and during the twelve months ending June 30, 1888 (according to the Treasury Department's "Summary Statement of the Imports and Exports of the United States"), there was imported \$1,679,807 worth of these two articles, upon which duty was collected at the above rate, while for the preceding fiscal year, 1886-'87, the value of the dutiable importations reached \$2,332,436. Paintings, statuary, and other works of art, the production of American artists, are allowed free importation, and under this head the Treasury Department reported importation to the value of \$473,562 during the fiscal year 1886-'87, and \$531,654 from July 1, 1887, to June 30, 1888.

A number of other separate provisions relate to the free importation of works of art, but art productions proper are so mixed up with scientific apparatus, instruments, fountains, "collections," regalia and gems, pottery, photographic pictures, and similar articles, and the various clauses are for the most part such inconsistent repetitions of each other, that it is by no means easy to summarize them. It is a pity that in an elaborate bill attempting to codify the revenue laws, care was not taken to unite these various provisions into a single harmonious paragraph; but above all it is to be regretted that these carefully hedged provisions for a very limited free importation of the only means through which a large part of our citizens can participate in the art culture of Europe, should remain in the bill at all. The niggardly spirit in which they are framed would only be justifiable in a revenue measure intended to replenish a bankrupt treasury, and is ludicrously out of keeping with the title of the bill, "An Act to Reduce Taxation."

The provisions of the bill permitting free importation of works of art—set out as concisely as possible, and with the deviations from the present law indicated by italics—are as follows: (1.) The productions of American artists *residing temporarily abroad*. (2.) Statuary, casts of marble, bronze, alabaster, or plaster of Paris, paintings, drawings, and etchings imported for the use of any society or institution incorporated or established for religious, philosophical, educational, scientific, or literary purposes, or for the encouragement of the fine arts. (3.) Statues, statuary, and specimens of sculpture imported for any society as above, and also for the use or by the order of any college, academy, school, seminary of learning, or public library. (4.) Paintings,

statuary, fountains, and other works of art imported expressly for presentation to a national institution, or to any State or municipal corporation, or incorporated religious society, college, or other public institution. (5.)

Works of art, drawings, engravings, and photographic pictures, brought by professional artists for use by them temporarily for exhibition.

(6.) Paintings, statuary, and photographic pictures for exhibition by any association duly authorized under the laws of the United States, or of any State, for the promotion and encouragement of science, art, or industry; provided, that in cases of importation under "5" and "6," if the articles are not exported within six months, or, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, within twelve months, duties must be paid.

(7.) Works of art, photographs, works in terracotta, parian, pottery, or porcelain, and artistic copies of antiquities in metal or other material, imported for permanent exhibition at a fixed place by any society or institution established for the encouragement of arts or sciences; and (8) like articles imported by any society or association for the purpose of erecting a public monument—in either of which cases bonds must be given for the payment of duties should any of the articles be subsequently sold or transferred, etc., "and such articles shall be subject, at any time, to examination and inspection by the proper officers of the customs." (9.) Engravings, photographs, and etchings when more than twenty years old at the date of importation; and (10), the same articles *when imported for the use of the United States, or for the use of the Library of Congress*. Finally (11) fashion plates, whether "engraved on steel, or copper, or wood; colored or plain."

Of the changes proposed to be made in the present free list, that indicated in "five," permitting the free importation of works of art by artists for temporary exhibition in this country, together with the clause extending the time during which such exhibits shall be exempt from the payment of duty from six months to one year, were borrowed from the Mills bill; whereas, the other changes marked seem to have originated in the Senate Committee. The latter are of no importance, but they are not, unhappily, the only alterations proposed by the Senate bill affecting the duties upon works of art. Neither photographs nor lithographs are mentioned in the tariff act of 1883, but the lynx-eyed Treasury officials, who truly seem to display an abnormal acuteness for discovering provisions for taxing "protection"-ridden Americans, have ruled that these two articles are subject to the same duty as engravings, under the drag-net provision concerning non-enumerated articles which "bear a similitude" to any article enumerated; and in the Senate bill the word "photographs" is inserted in paragraph 379, which relates to books and engravings, and imposes a duty of 25 per cent. ad valorem. We do not wish to seem factious by finding fault with a single addition to the free list, but certainly one might not unreasonably have expected that an argument for en-

couraging the distribution among our people of photographic copies of the masterpieces of Old World painting and sculpture would have appealed to the good sense of the Senate of the United States, and that the untaxed importation of Braun's beautiful prints of the Sistine Madonna, or of the Venus of Milo, for example, would have been deemed of equal importance with the free importation of those marvellous Parisian productions known as fashion plates. As regards lithographs, the Senate bill (sec. 382) provides that "lithographic prints from either stone or zinc, bound or unbound (except illustrations in printed books), and all articles produced either in whole or in part by lithographic process," shall pay an import duty of 35 per cent. ad valorem, thus not only distinctly including this article among the enumerated dutiable articles, but increasing the rate of duty 10 per cent. above that now in force under the rulings of the Treasury Department. Moreover, whether inserted for that purpose or not, the words "and all articles produced either in whole or in part by lithographic process," will, apparently, increase the duty by 10 per cent. upon all lithographed or partly lithographed music, which now pays duty at 25 per cent., under the Treasury Department's decisions.

The provision establishing the duty upon paintings and statuary is contained in paragraph 424 of the Senate bill, which reads as follows: "Paintings in oil and water colors, and statuary, not otherwise provided for in this act, 30 per cent. ad valorem; but the term 'statuary' as herein used shall be understood to include *only such statuary as is cut, carved, or otherwise wrought by hand from a solid block or mass of marble, stone, or alabaster, or from metal*, and as is the professional production of a statuary or sculptor only." The words italicized indicate the substance of the alteration proposed to be made by the bill in the present law. Just what importance or value should be attached to the attempt to define more explicitly than is done in the law now in force, the term "statuary," we do not feel competent to say; but by the insertion of the word "alabaster" in this clause, this clever measure to "reduce taxation" succeeds in making yet another increase of duty. The act of 1883 (first paragraph of schedule N), provides for a duty of 10 per cent. upon alabaster statuary, but that clause is omitted from the Senate act, and paragraph 424 is made to include this article, thus increasing the duty upon it by 20 per cent.

This paragraph of the bill came before the Senate for consideration on Thursday, January 10, when Senator Vest pointed out that, according to the provisions of the bill, artistic, hand-made statuary in alabaster would be required to pay a higher duty by 5 per cent. than manufactures of the same material, and he protested against this discrimination, which was unfavorable to the work of the artist, but he suggested no amendment of the text of the bill. Senator Hoar deserves credit as the single member of the Senate who had the courage to speak a word in favor of free art. He expressed the hope that before the bill

had passed from the final consideration of the Committee that body would conclude to put all works of art on the free list. "I do not believe there is any American artist," he continued, "who desires to have his work protected as against the free competition of all mankind. It does not come at all, it seems to me, within any argument which is advanced in favor of a protective tariff. The genius of an artist is neither developed nor encouraged, nor in any way helped, by a policy which gives him any advantage which does not belong to him as a matter of pure superiority and merit. I do not propose to make any motion. I desire to defer to the Committee in regard to the bill; but I trust the Committee will come to that conclusion, which I believe is the desire of every American who is engaged in the production of works of art, either of painting or of sculpture, without any considerable exception." It was not to be expected that so gentle a remonstrance would have any effect on the Senate Committee. The very indefensibility of this tax makes it certain that a decided protest must be made against it before it will be done away with. No consideration seems to have been given to Senator Hoar's recommendation, but to the American who realizes the insular and disgraceful position occupied by his country in this respect, in comparison with other civilized nations, it is some satisfaction that at least one member of the Fiftieth Congress has given voice to proper convictions regarding the matter.

COME-OUTERS AND STAY-INNERS.

THE prolonged litigation over the Andover professors already resolves itself into a maneuvering for position in the contest of the American Board with the theory of future probation. Upon the denomination at large the effect of the final decision, whatever it may turn out to be, cannot now be great. The new view is strongly entrenched in many prominent churches, and they will continue to hold it, even if those who teach it in Andover should have to quit their chairs. There seems to be no likelihood of a split in the Congregational body over the question. This is really the most surprising aspect of the whole affair. Here is a large denomination with its peace disturbed by a group of innovators, who show no signs of abandoning their obnoxious tenets, yet no effort is made to cut them off, nor do the offenders ever appear to have thought of setting up for themselves.

All this is a striking testimony to the great dulling of the instinct of religious separatism in the past seventy-five years. Such a state of things simply could not have been at the beginning of this century. Every one familiar with the histories and biographies relating to the condition of the churches at that time in this country, will remember how constant a note in that literature is the willingness, almost the eagerness, of the men of those days to embody their separate religious ideas in separate religious organizations. They were afraid of schism neither as word nor as thing. If a man had a new social

conception, he not only broached it but worked it—if, indeed, it could be made to work. If a man got beyond his sect, he did not wait to be put out—though if he had waited he would have been put out surely enough—but went out. It was a time of intense individualism, and it almost seemed as if society would cleave down to its ultimate atoms. It was the day of the come-outers. To it has succeeded, apparently, the day of the stay-inners.

And it is not, of course, in the Congregational Church alone that this wedding of opposites may be observed. That denomination is, from its principles and authority, peculiarly weak against perverse views from within; it cannot move against them with direct and swift ecclesiastical authority, nor has it the happy knack possessed by some other sects of repressing or concealing doctrinal differences existing within it. Still, divergences as broad as those from which it suffers can easily be detected in any of the leading Protestant bodies. They all have their "schools," their left, centre, and right. In all of them the traditional broad shield of toleration has to be made as elastic as Dido's bull's hide to cover the range of doctrinal and ecclesiastical opinion. Yet, so completely has the petition of the Litany directed against the evils of schism been answered, that in none of them, any more than in the Congregational Church, is there a sign of disrupted creeds taking form in disrupted churches.

Nor does this argue a great falling off in religious earnestness, or inquiry, or speculation. These all go on as before. The difference is that they do not now lead men, as they once did infallibly, out of one sect and into another, or to the formation of an altogether new sect. The new fashion of tolerance has, in fact, led to a new kind of sect, what may be called the inter-sectarian sect. This is referred to in Dr. Holmes's recent letter to the Unitarian Club of Boston, where he says: "We have seen large bodies of those whom we have been accustomed to regard as our theological opponents, silently wheeling to our side, without breaking ranks or changing colors." In other words, there are opinions and tendencies of thought stronger and more distinctive than any sect, and running through all the sects. Many men find their closest theological affinities outside the religious body in which they were born; they give way to these affinities and are marked by them; yet they do not leave the inherited form of faith. That form may have become, in its main positions, positively distasteful to them, yet they stand by it, giving to it their influence and activity, while they give their thought and affection to the inter-sectarian sect to which they really belong. In everything but organization, of course, such men actually have formed a new sect. They have their recognized organs of opinion; they have their shibboleths; they enjoy the freemasonry of a good understanding with those of like mind.

Some years ago, a Baptist clergyman woke up to find himself holding views which were, to say the least, novelties in his de-

nomination, though not absolutely unknown in it. He fell to corresponding with the men in the different denominations whom he knew to be of his way of thinking. Between him and them there existed that intellectual agreement and sympathy of aim which once were the bond of every sect. But now this Baptist minister found his mental intimates and religious affinities in the persons of an Episcopalian lecturer, a Congregational pastor, and a Presbyterian professor. We should have added a Methodist preacher, had not the latter subsequently left his denomination.

And of course this sort of liberal inter-sectarian sect has its counterpart on the conservative side. The theological stiffeners up of the various religious bodies themselves constitute a religious body most definitely marked. Their most secure sense of solidarity is experienced in connection with movements and sympathies wholly independent of any one sect. We can think of no better illustration of this than the recent course of the *Independent*. But a few years ago, that paper was the synonym for the liberal, if not the radical, in religion. For reasons best known to its proprietor, it suddenly took the other tack, and took it with the customary vehemence of a convert. What the effect was upon its liberal patrons we cannot say, but the effect upon its former enemies, the conservatives, was unmistakable. They almost wept over this brand plucked from the burning. Mr. Bowen was flooded with commendatory letters from the conservative leaders in all the denominations. There need be no hesitation in speaking about this, for he at once showed that it was precisely what he was after, and published columns of them as a capital advertisement. That is a small matter; the important thing is the evidence the circumstance afforded of the existence of a great conservative sect within the sects.

There is nothing strange about this. It was inevitable that the accidental classification of religious opinions, shown in the denominations as we know them, should eventually be broken down and overridden by a classification based on what seems to be the system of nature, the division of men into liberals and conservatives. Here we get true genera, while the sects constitute species at the most. And if the idea of the variation of species is a modern idea, that of the variation of sects is at least as old as Bossuet.

VOLAPÜK, OR WORLD-SPEECH.

WITHIN the first decade of its existence Volapük has made, in comparison with all earlier or later attempts at devising a universal language, extraordinary progress. Its adherents now number, according to their own estimate, upwards of a million (the opponents of the system place this figure as low as 200,000); twenty-two periodicals, published in Germany, Spain, France, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, England, China, Japan, Porto Rico, and the United States, are exclusively devoted to its dissemination; the seat of the Central Committee is established in the very place whence a superficial observer might have expected the most strenuous opposition—in Paris; clubs for and

courses of instruction in Volapük are to be met with in all civilized countries; neither Spelin, Pasilingua, Lingva internacia, nor the nine or ten remaining opposition schemes for a universal tongue have yet been able to hold the attention of any considerable portion of the public; the dissensions among the Volapükists themselves are generally hushed; the first scientific work in Volapük (and German), 'Abbildungen von 6 Schädeln, mit erklärendem Texte,' has just made its appearance. In short, Volapük would seem to be triumphant at all points.

Nevertheless, Father Schleyer's scheme has succeeded in developing not only numerous rival methods, but likewise deep-seated opposition in his own camp. Many of his earliest disciples, convinced, after long trial, of the undesirability of the Volapük method, have turned their backs upon it, and are engaged in searching after a more practical expression of the common need. Their opposition up to the present time has been spasmodic and disconnected, expressed chiefly through the medium of occasional pamphlets. It is now to take definite and organized shape. Karl Lentze of Leipzig, one of Schleyer's first disciples and foremost champions, is about to initiate a new movement through the publication of a periodical* in the three chief European languages (English, French, and German). This monthly review will furnish to the learned and unlearned of those nations most nearly interested in the success of a world-language a neutral ground—*forum linguarum*—where all parties can be heard and disputes settled without costly internecine strife of dubious outcome.

What are the most weighty objections to Volapük, aside from those brought forward against the idea of a world-language in general? (1.) The complicated character of the verb. (2.) The mutilation beyond recognition of word-roots, and the uncalled-for disregard, necessitated by Schleyer's entire method, of words universally accepted. (3.) The disagreeable and difficult pronunciation, caused by the profusion of long and modified vowels, monotonous accent, and too frequent employment of certain consonants. The first and third of these difficulties have already been commented upon at length in the *Nation*; a few examples will serve to give an idea of the second, and to throw light upon the evolution of the Volapük vocabulary. Europe is in Vp (Volapük) Yulop. Wherefore? (a) The Chinese, old people, and children cannot conveniently pronounce *r*; this consonant is therefore either dropped, or replaced by *l*, in forming Vp roots from known words. (b) Rule: No declinable word shall begin or end with a vowel. Away with *e* final and *r*; initial *E* is transformed to final *Y*; grand total: Yulop. Good! But observe the advantages of a "system." Yul may be looked upon as *root* of our new word, *op* as universal suffix designating "continent." A vista opens. *E. g.*, Amer-ica: *mer* is *root*; *op* gives Mel; clap on the universal *op*—Melop! Austral-ia: *tral*, *tal*, Talop! A-fri-ca: *frie*, *fik* (k phonetic)—Fikop. Asia—Hm! inconvenient; no proper *root* there. So let us take the French form with article, l'Asie; *tasi*, *las*—stop! Rule: No substantive shall end with a sibilant; we must turn it round: *sal*; no, that "root" has been taken before for *salt*. Happy thought: we had an *i* in *lasi*; let us take that instead of *a*—presto, change!—*sil*, Silop! The unprejudiced observer might ask: "Why change these well-known names at all?" Schleyer would answer: "The System demands it, the System is fixed and unalterable, without a System all is chaos; if you once learn what

the System requires, you will reach the end and aim of World-Language; to make yourself understood by everybody everywhere."

One more example. In choosing a "root," Schleyer goes through his fifty-five languages to find the shortest and (for the System) most convenient one. *E. g.*, Eisenbahn—chemin de fer—railroad; the last appears on the whole the best, and from it is accordingly evolved *lelod*, and, to avoid the doubled consonant, *lelod* (vowels long, if you please). So far, so good. But presently he needs a new Vp "root" for iron. For Eisenbahn he already finds in his German Vp Vocabulary, *lelod*; what more natural (or *spiritually*) than to take *lel*—iron—and how logical, too! Here we not only see the *shape* (rail, regel (Sw.), Riegel) converted into the *substance*, but are called upon to admire the ingenuity of the process.

Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., Vice-President of the British Philological Society, in his politely sarcastic response to the invitation of the American Philological Society (calling a Congress for the consideration of the world-language), praises Vp as a speech based on non-Aryan principles. He is entirely right, both as regards its grammatical construction and word-material, which latter is founded on roots so mutilated that, although 80 per cent. are avowedly from English, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and German, they can no longer be recognized as Aryan. Now, the memorizing of the vocabulary of any wholly artificial language is, after the grammatical construction has been mastered, a matter of undeniable difficulty. In the case of Vp this difficulty is aggravated by the really arbitrary transformation and "swapping round" of roots.

But, whatever be the merits or demerits of Vp, its author has succeeded in awakening and keeping alive the interest of the world public to an unprecedented degree; which goes far towards proving that a real world-speech is a thing desirable and desired, if not yet absolutely necessary. Just now the main difficulty would seem to be, that "das Gute der Feind des Besseren sein mag"—that the friends of Vp, who still include but an insignificant fraction of the hundreds of millions eventually to be reached by the "one speech for one humanity," may succeed in blocking the way for the introduction of an easier, because simpler and more intelligible, system of language. Mr. Ellis, while admitting (pp. 90-1, 96) the decided superiority of Spelin (the world-speech invented by Prof. Bauer of Agram) over Volapük, declines further discussion of the subject, on the ground that the latter tongue has already met with a favorable reception. Unfortunately (or otherwise), Mr. Ellis's own deliberate judgment in favor of Spelin, together with the much more attractive form of this latter as compared with Vp, must, it seems to us, aid in creating a current of public opinion adverse to the spread of Volapük. For why should all the world learn a more difficult system merely to please at the utmost a million of its friends? We have reached the most dangerous stage on the highway of universal speech, where the admittedly better is deliberately set aside by the partisans of the (moderately) good.

What does the new movement, headed by the *Interpreter*, offer as a substitute for, or advance upon, Volapük? As appears from the advance sheets, the founders of the undertaking assume the position that a world-speech cannot, and ought not to, be the work of any individual, however highly gifted. They declare, furthermore, that they, as former zealous adherents of Vp, are satisfied that this method does not afford a really practical solution of the problem. The Vp vocabulary they con-

sider to present great and utterly needless difficulties to the student—all the difficulties, in fact, with the exception of grammatical simplification, presented by a new language. It is their aim to render available the mass of word material common to the languages of western Europe. While presenting a simple grammatical system of their own, the editors desire and request the active cooperation of all persons interested in universal language, in order that the question may be treated and illumined from every point of view. The *Interpreter* desires ostensibly neither to enter into a conflict with Vp or any other system, nor to present any similar scheme, but will exert its influence towards settling the many disputed points respecting world-speech in a way at once satisfactory and final. In regard to the vocabularies, no doubts are to be left unsolved as to the material which the world-speech shall have at its disposal. As long as a dozen or more different world-languages exist, each with its own partisans, no clear public opinion can be formed regarding the nature of world-language. The editors propose to show that, by taking natural and linguistic laws, more especially those touching the evolution of language, into account, a world-speech can be framed from which invention pure and simple, and consequently individual idiosyncrasies, shall be completely excluded. They propose that from the languages of western Europe the best known, shortest, and most euphonious words of clearest meaning shall be selected, preserving form and pronunciation as far as possible (the spelling is of course to be phonetic); also, that the best rules and principles shall be adopted in all cases; "then," say the editors, "the relatively best language must result, which will deserve to take precedence of all others."

Without filling space unnecessarily with details of the new departure, it may be said that it invites the earnest attention of all, whether adherents of Vp or no, who believe in the theory of a world-speech, and desire to see it put into a practical shape. It is altogether unlikely that the *Interpreter* will accept Vp or any modification of it, for Vp admits of no radical modification. The *Interpreter* shows in some particulars a leaning towards Spelin. But all views worthy of attention, whether favorable or unfavorable to the editors' scheme, will receive due notice in the *Interpreter*, whose motto seems to be "Principle above party." It is hoped that the many rival systems may crystallize about the *point d'appui* here offered.

THE YOUTH OF CALVIN.

PARIS, January 23, 1889.

M. ABEL LEFRANC is the author of a 'History of the City of Noyon and of its Institutions to the end of the Thirteenth Century.' He has now applied himself to the study of the earliest part of the life of Calvin, who was, as everybody knows, born at Noyon. His 'Jeunesse de Calvin' is an important contribution to the Calvin literature. Historians have hitherto neglected the early part of Calvin's life; they know the smallest circumstances of his career only from the time when he left France and began his apostolate in Geneva. But who has ever well explained how the great reformer was himself reformed, under what influences he became what he was afterwards in Switzerland? Did his conversion take place in Paris, in Orleans, in Bourges? We really knew little about the first act of the drama which ended out of France.

The documents which M. Abel Lefranc has

* *Interpreter*: International Review for Universal Language. Karl Lentze, Editor, Leipzig.

used are in the first place the "Registers of the Deliberations" of the city of Noyon, in which are related the smallest incidents of the life of Noyon, and which had been completely unexplored. He has made some use also of the accounts of the "Rôles des tailles" of the "Livre des bourgeois." He found in the National Library at Paris an analysis of the "Registers of the Chapter" of Noyon, by one of the canons (the original registers have unfortunately been destroyed). I do not mention many works containing notes and researches on Noyon and its inhabitants, nor the more ancient biographies of Calvin, well known to all historians.

The ancestors of Calvin were all fishermen, who lived on the river Oise. His father Gérard became a bourgeois of Noyon in 1497; he was promoter of the chapter in 1509, inhabiting a house, not far distant from the fine cathedral, afterwards demolished during the League by the enemies of the great reformer. Gérard Calvin (or Cauvin) married the daughter of one of the most notable bourgeois of the town, Le Franc, who had a good fortune. Jeanne Le Franc was handsome, very pious, and used to take her son, John Calvin, when a child, to the pilgrimages of the neighborhood. Calvin, in his "Treatise on the Relics," speaks of the relics of the famous Abbey of Ourcamp. Jeanne Le Franc died young, and Gérard Calvin married again, but we know nothing of his second wife. He himself died in 1531, leaving four sons and two daughters.

At the age of twelve years, May 19, 1521, John Calvin received his first "bénéfice," consisting in a rent of some church property lying at Eppeville ("Eppeville" is one of the pseudonyms afterwards used by the reformer). On the 29th of September, 1527, he became curate of Saint-Martin de Martheville, and on the 5th of June, 1529, he exchanged this living for another and better one at Pont-l'Évêque. We must evidently abandon the legend, too long credited, of young Calvin educated by charity in the shadow of the cathedral of Noyon. His father was a man of some importance, and obtained church preferments for his sons, in his capacity of *procureur*, or clerk of the chapter. He gave them a very good education in a college of Noyon called after the "little caps" of the scholars. John Calvin was there the companion of the children of the seigneur of Montmor. He went with them to Paris, where he stayed at the house of his uncle Richard, near Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois. This journey took place in August, 1523.

A quarrel arose between Calvin's father and the chapter of Noyon. "At the bottom of it," says M. Lefranc, "are money difficulties. Gérard Calvin was embarrassed in his affairs, refused to render his accounts to the chapter, and put himself in complete opposition to it. The influence of this quarrel on the mind of the future reformer must have been considerable." Gérard was excommunicated by the chapter, and fell ill; his son John returned from Paris and saw him die. The chapter was not disarmed by his death. Charles, the eldest of the Calvin children, was persecuted by the chapter, and was excommunicated in his turn, though he was chaplain of the cathedral and curate of Roupv. He was suspected of heresy, and when he died on the 1st of October, 1537, without being reconciled with the Church, he was not interred in consecrated ground.

John Calvin was thus not the first member of his family who was opposed to the Church. He was probably much shocked by the proceedings of the chapter of Noyon, first against his father and then against his brother Charles. The religious beginning of Calvin is, however, to be found, not only in his feelings for his

family, but also in the state of his native country. Picardy was open very early to the ideas of the Reformation. Pierre Robert, who was known under the name of Olivetan, was a Picard; the inhabitants of this part of France are proverbially known for their love of contention. At Noyon, there was a perpetual quarrel between the Bishop and the chapter. It seems highly probable that Olivetan, who had been attracted to the ideas of the Reformation at Orleans and afterwards at Strasbourg, was the initiator of Calvin and the cause of his religious evolution. Olivetan had become in Strasbourg a pupil and a friend of Martin Bucer. Lefèvre d'Étaples, the Russels, Vatable, Olivetan, and Calvin all belonged to Picardy. We can, therefore, not look upon Calvin's conversion as an isolated fact; he was drawn along in a current, with many others; he belonged to a sort of class, which received the new ideas chiefly in the universities. Calvin's conversion was determined by a chain of reasoning; he does not seem to have suffered from any doubts, to have felt the same sort of anxiety as Martin Luther. He resigned his livings, and provoked in the cathedral a public manifestation which was followed by his immediate arrest. He was put in prison on the 26th of May, 1534, and he remained in it for about five months. This arrest was the origin of the legend which afterwards represented him as having been marked with a hot iron on the shoulder for an abominable crime—a legend which has found its way into some historical books.

M. Lefranc has attempted to throw more light on the various peregrinations of Calvin, and on his life at Paris, at Orleans, at Bourges. Some parts of the time which he spent in these various places as well as at Noyon are extremely obscure, and I must say that M. Lefranc, by not following an exactly chronological order, has added somewhat to the obscurity and confusion. Calvin's journeys become almost enigmas. We have to follow him from place to place, and we cannot follow him from year to year. We are presented to his acquaintances, to the friends he makes in the universities, without any regard to time, and the impression received becomes confused and almost irritating. Did Calvin meet Rabelais in one of these journeys in the province of Saintonge? It is a question which cannot well be answered; what is certain is, that in 1531 Calvin denounced 'Pantagruel' as an obscene work, justly condemned by the censure. Rabelais, on his side, did not spare Calvin (see the famous passage in the third book of 'Pantagruel'). From Angoulême, he went to Nerac, where he visited Lefèvre d'Étaples, the translator of the Bible, and the patriarch of the French Protestants, who was living quietly at the Court of the Queen of Navarre. Calvin visited Poitiers, Orleans, gaining everywhere adherents to the new idea by his propagandism and his eloquence. We find him again in Noyon in 1534. We have said already that he was thrown into prison at that time; when he was free, he went to Paris. He led there a very quiet life, preparing himself for his great work, in communication with the ardent Farel, with Gérard Roussel, with the leaders of the Reformation. Persecution had begun, on all sides the heretics were threatened. Marot fled to the Duchess of Ferrara in Italy. Calvin took the road into exile, going first to Bâle, and stopping at Strasbourg on the way. At Bâle he was hidden under the name of Martinus Lucanus, and led a life of complete retirement. He was working at his first great work, the 'Institution Chrétienne,' which he finished on the 23d of August, 1535. His great

mission really began with the publication of this book, which is equally remarkable in a literary and in a religious sense.

I will not dilate much on the further movements of Calvin. They are better known than the first part of his life. From Bâle he reached Italy, and went to Ferrara with Dutillet, who travelled under the name of Haulmont. In 1536 he came back to France, and stayed some little time in Paris and in Noyon, in order to settle some family business. He was stopped on his way back to Bâle, and went to Geneva, where he was detained by Farel and remained.

I have said that Calvin was not, so to speak, an accident, that in his birthplace of Noyon, in his earliest infancy, there was a party inclined to reform. This ecclesiastical centre was not, in the sixteenth century, the quiet and sleepy place which it is now; the Protestant group became stronger and stronger with time, and a sort of municipal civil war raged in it for as much as thirty years. The division became well accentuated when the persecution began: on one side were the Huguenots, on the other the future members of the Holy League. The chapters which M. Lefranc has written on the divisions of Noyon are perhaps the most interesting in his book; he shows how the city of Calvin, though Calvin was there no longer, became a sort of headquarters for the reformers of all the region of the north of France. Laurent de Normandie, a friend of Calvin, became lieutenant of the bailiwick of Noyon, and through his influence the Protestants of the region enjoyed more liberty than in the rest of France. But he was, after a while, obliged to leave the town with his friends, and took refuge in Geneva. An inquisitor-general of the Faith was sent to Noyon. The Parlement of Paris interfered and began prosecutions against the heretics. Then came a period of calm: the Marshal de Montmorency tried to preserve a sort of neutrality between the Protestants and the Catholics. But neutrality cannot last long in civil wars; the Catholics triumphed completely in the end, and at the time of the death of Calvin (May 29, 1564), it may be said that his partisans had been completely vanquished by the partisans of the League, which now was beginning to organize itself. The chapter spoke of him as the Antichrist.

How can this total extinction of the Reformation in Noyon be explained? Persecution and force had done their work; moreover, the Catholic clergy of Noyon had fought with the greatest energy. The most aristocratic inhabitants were inclined to the new ideas, but the people had remained all along faithful to the old doctrines. Thirty years after the death of Calvin, Cardinal Alexander de Medicis passed by Noyon. He wished to see Calvin's house. It was shown to him. He then asked if there were any Protestants in the town; the answer was, "Not a single one." This was an exaggeration; but it is true that Catholicism had finally triumphed in the place where the greatest reformer was born.

SHELLEY WITH BYRON.

ESTE, August, 1888.

THE little town of Este lies at the foot of the last of the Euganean Hills, just where they gradually subside into the plain, and from the little river which washes its side the Battaglia Canal carries the water to Padua. The villa called I Cappuccini, now belonging to the Kinkler family, which Byron in the autumn of 1817 hired as a summer residence for two years from the English Consul General Hoppner, who had then a lease of it, is just above the town on the hillside, immediately over the great ruins of the

old Castle of Este, the home of the ancestors of the Queen of England. It is a plain, square house, with commodious, airy rooms, in the midst of a large, pleasant garden full of trees and flowers and plots of grass, with a vineyard extending behind the house up the hillside. You are still shown the room which Byron habitually occupied, and the table on which he wrote; but the battlemented wall on the steepest side of the garden is so arranged and filled in as to form a high terrace, on which is a pavilion which tradition points out as the favorite resort both of Byron and of Shelley. The view extends far over "the waveless plain of Lombardy." From the top of the hill the view is wider and finer, for there you can look back into the Euganean Hills. "We see before us," Shelley wrote to Peacock, "the wide, flat plains of Lombardy, in which we see the sun and moon rise and set, and the evening star, and all the golden magnificence of autumnal clouds." This was the house which Byron lent to Shelley when the latter came on with Jane Clairmont, who had been seized with a sudden desire to see again her own and Byron's child, the little Allegra. Here the Shelleys spent, with the exception of visits to Venice, the months of September and October, 1818; and here Shelley, under the renewed influence of the excitement of Byron's talk, did some of his best work.

In looking over the manuscript diary of the Cavaliere Mengaldo, who was afterwards a General in the Revolution of 1849, I find that on September 21, 1818, he drove from Padua to Este to see Count Cicognara and other friends. He adds: "Visit Lord Byron's little girl. Embarrassment of the people who received me. Conversation awkward on both sides." And on the next day: "They tell me that the English family living in Lord Byron's house has suddenly gone away." Mengaldo probably drew some strange inferences; for at that time he did not know that Shelley's little Clara was very ill and had been taken to Venice in search of a doctor, but only to die. On the 24th, Mengaldo returned to Venice, and in the evening visited the Hoppners, where the Shelleys had just arrived. His journal says: "In the evening, sad presentiments while going to Mr. Hoppner's, which were verified by the death of the little girl of Mr. Schelling." On Monday, September 28, Mrs. Shelley's diary says: "Go with Mrs. Hoppner and Cavaliere Mengaldo to the library"; a statement curiously confirmed by Mengaldo, who on the same date wrote: "With Madame Hopner and Madame Schelling to the Ducal Palace to see the library [*livrerie*, he writes, in his odd French]. I am ashamed to know so little about all these rarities."

Shelley had not seen Byron for fully two years since they parted in Switzerland, and "really hardly knew him again; he is changed into the liveliest and happiest looking man I ever met." There had been, however, some correspondence about the little Allegra, and the task of negotiating an interview between mother and child, which Shelley had then undertaken, was not of the pleasantest nature. Byron's reception of Shelley was so warm and cordial that the latter at once surrendered himself to Byron's influence; and though at various times he tried to shake it off—especially when urged and badgered by the complaints and recriminations of Jane Clairmont, or Claire as it is easier to call her—it affected him at times very strongly throughout the remainder of his life. The first result was to excite Shelley's poetical faculty, which had been slumbering during these two years, or had exercised itself only on political themes and on

trifles. "Julian and Maddalo," written in the summer-house at Este, reflects strongly the impressions left on Shelley by his first visit to Venice; for it gives idealized portraits both of himself and Byron, and a picture of their relations, as well as a charming sketch of the little Allegra, on account of which, in deference to her mother's feelings, he reluctantly withheld the poem from publication during his lifetime. The "Lines among the Euganean Hills" were written, the poet himself tells us, "after a day's excursion among those lovely mountains which surround what was once the retreat, and where is now the sepulchre, of Petrarch." The compliment paid to Byron is thought by Mr. Forman to be an afterthought; but the evidence does not seem very convincing, as that passage forms an integral part of the poem. The poetic faculty once awakened, Shelley was able to begin work on a subject which had for some time occupied his mind, the "Prometheus Unbound," of which he wrote the greater part of the first act at Este. The stimulus given by Byron lasted throughout the ensuing winter, and, in spite of the troubles which beset him at Naples, he was able to finish "Prometheus," and to write the "Cenci."

"It was one of the infirmities of Shelley's character," says Dowden, "that, from thinking the best of friend or acquaintance, he could, of a sudden and with insufficient cause, pass over to the other side and think the worst." As before, there had been a "violent outbreak of vituperation" about Miss Hitchener, as was a little later the case with the Gisbornes. Shelley, notwithstanding the pleasant intercourse at Venice, and the mutual services—for Mrs. Shelley had transcribed "Mazeppa" for publication—perhaps indignant with himself for being so easily influenced, when he had arrived at Naples, when he had listened again for two months to the complaints of Claire, and had been greatly worried by domestic troubles and by others, the nature of which we can only conjecture, burst out into an invective against Byron. There is no need to quote his letter to Peacock of December 22, 1818, where, after speaking harshly of Byron's mode of life, and feeling that for his sake he ought to hope that his present career must end soon "in some violent circumstance," yet admits Byron's greatness as a poet. It is very difficult, however, to see what he could mean after reading, as he had done, in the manuscript, the fourth canto of "Childe Harold," by saying: "The spirit in which it is written is, if insane, the most wicked and mischievous insanity that ever was given forth. It is a kind of obstinate and self-willed folly, in which he hardens himself." And yet this letter is relied upon as one of the testimonies to Byron's "depravation" in Venice! So much has the temper of the times changed that acts like those of Byron's would nowadays hardly be thought worthy of remark even in London.

Again, for three years, the two poets had no communication with each other except by letter, and then generally on the unpleasant subject of Claire and her wishes about Allegra. Meanwhile, Shelley's poetical faculty had again become blunted by domestic troubles, by financial straits, and by the interest which English politics excited in his mind. It was only when he could get away from home for long days in the pine woods about Pisa, in the mountains, or floating down the river in his boat, that he could write those short poems by which he is best remembered, the "Ode to the West Wind," the "Cloud," the "Skylark," the "Boat on the Serchio," and the "Letter to Maria Gisborne." In the "Indian Serenade" he has an interesting reminiscence of "Lalla Rookh" in the lines,

"The champak colours fall
Like sweet thoughts in a dream."

In the general bewilderment about this mysterious plant, it seems to be forgotten that it is more than once mentioned by Moore, who had crammed himself with several volumes of *Asiatic Researches* for the purpose of giving local color to his poem. The champak is a shrub or tree of the magnolia family—*Michelia Champaca* of Linneus—whose golden flowers are used for adorning the black hair of the Indian women, and are sometimes strowed on the temple floors; their odor is so strongly aromatic as to be thought offensive to bees, who do not frequent the plant. The sambac, which has so nearly the same name and is equally fragrant and beautiful, is a shrub of the jasmine family, and is not unfrequently cultivated in Europe. There used to be specimens of it in the Botanical Garden at Pisa.

But let us return to Byron. Miss Clairmont was constantly worrying herself and others about little Allegra. She had given up the child to Byron, in order that it might receive a better education and be better provided for. She knew that she could not herself support the girl, and that to ask the Shelleys to do so would be asking too much, as her presence would in the end have caused annoyance to every one. Claire besieged Byron with letters on the subject, asking for at least a visit from Allegra; protested against her staying "in unhealthy Venice," "with its stinking canals and dirty streets enough to kill any child," and when it was proposed to send her to a convent, as she had outgrown the servant's care, Claire protested still more. Byron refused to have any intercourse with her, and was evidently annoyed at Shelley's letters on the subject, although the latter professed not to know what was contained in the letters of Claire which he enclosed. There seemed to be an idea in this atheistical family that a conventual education rendered Italian women "licentious and ignorant, bad wives and unnatural mothers"; but after Shelley had discussed the matter calmly with his wife, he fully upheld Byron's decision as being in every way just and proper, and could not discover that he had acted in any way unworthily towards Allegra. There was, however, a reason for Byron's conduct which Shelley found out—apparently to his surprise—when, in August, 1821, at Byron's request, he visited him at Ravenna. Byron had heard that Claire had been living as Shelley's mistress, that a child had been born when they were in Naples in December, 1818, and had been sent to the foundling hospital; and therefore he did not consider Claire a proper person to have the care of the child—not only for its own sake, but also for that of his own reputation. This story had been told by some servants whom Shelley had dismissed, and as there seemed nothing intrinsically improbable in it, it was believed by both Byron and the Hoppners without difficulty. Miss Clairmont had already committed one fault; Shelley was very fond of her, and so much under her influence as to give his wife many pangs of jealousy, so that at last she could not have Claire in the same house with her; Claire had been ill some time in Naples, and a child had certainly been born there to some one and intrusted to Shelley's care. Shelley's moral character was really no better than Byron's; but one was a cynic, and the other a sentimentalist who perhaps did not always carry his feelings into action. Without going back to Shelley's former life, it is sufficient to study his relations to Emilia Viviani, to Jane Williams, and, indeed, to all the women whom he met frequently, or to read his poem, "Epipsychidion," which inculcates

the necessity of loving more than one woman in the interest of art and of the higher spiritual culture.* Nor did there seem to Byron and his friends anything particularly shocking in this accusation. Claire, though called Mrs. Shelley's sister, was in reality no relation at all, being her stepmother's child by a previous marriage.

Byron would have thought it absurd to be jealous of Shelley, and therefore wrote to him and invited him to Ravenna, and received him warmly. Mrs. Shelley, on hearing from her husband of this accusation, which he thought she only could "effectually rebut"—referring, apparently, to the charge of cruelty, as that about Claire he seemed to think only "a great error"—was very indignant, and wrote a long letter to Mrs. Hoppner, denying the whole story, which all are willing to accept for true so far as she was cognizant of the facts. This letter was sent to Shelley to be forwarded; he, however, gave it to Lord Byron, who engaged (he says) to send it with his own comments. The fact that this letter was found among Lord Byron's papers after his death is used by Shelley's biographers "to witness against the baseness of the man who thought to spare his own vanity at the cost of the honor of his friend." This, however, proves nothing of the kind. We do not know that what Byron said really amounted to a promise, for Mr. Dowden has shown over and over again that it is unsafe to trust literally to the statements either of the Shelleys or of Claire. Lord Byron may either have written to Hoppner on the matter, or have sent him a copy of the letter, reserving the original for his own use; or he may have intended to read the letter to Hoppner with comments, not knowing then that they would never meet again; or he may have taken the extremely sensible view that it was one of those subjects about which the less said the better.

As Byron had laughed at the story as absurd and ridiculous, Shelley soon thought no more about it, looked at the antiquities of Ravenna, though he could not interest himself in them as they were only Christian, rode with Byron in the pine forest, talked with him all night on poetry and politics, and generally adopted his mode of life during the ten days of his visit. It was a delight to him to have again some intellectual conversation, although they, "as usual, differed, and even more than ever." Shelley could not agree with Byron's system of criticism; thought that he recognized the pernicious effects of it in the "Doge of Venice," and said: "It will cramp and limit his future efforts, however great they may be, unless he gets rid of it." To Leigh Hunt he wrote: "Lord Byron—I suppose from modesty, on account of his being mentioned in it—did not say a word of 'Adonais,' though he was loud in his praise of 'Prometheus,' and what you will not agree with him in, censure of the 'Cenci.' Certainly, if 'Marino Faliero' is a drama, the 'Cenci' is not—but that between ourselves." While Shelley, with great good judgment, thought Byron on the wrong road in following the lead of the French tragedians and Alfieri, he added, in a letter to Horace Smith: "But, genius-like, he is destined to lead and not to follow. He will shake off his shackles as he finds they cramp him. I believe he will produce something very great, and that familiarity with the dramatic power of human nature

will soon enable him to soften down the severe and unharmonizing traits of his 'Marino Faliero.'" As for Byron's other poems, Shelley had nothing but unbounded admiration.

"He has read to me one of the unpublished cantos of 'Don Juan,' which is astonishingly fine. It sets him not only above, but far above, all the poets of the day; every word is stamped with immortality. I despair of rivaling Lord Byron, as well I may, and there is no other with whom it is worth contending. There is not a word which the most rigid ascetic of the dignity of human nature would desire to be cancelled. It fulfills, in a certain degree, what I have long preached of producing—something wholly new and relative to the age, and yet surpassingly beautiful. It may be vanity, but I think I see the trace of my earnest exhortations to him to create something entirely new."

Comparing himself to Byron always put Shelley into a despondent mood, and at this very time he said of himself:

"I write nothing, and probably shall write no more. It offends me to see my name classed among those who have no name. If I cannot be something better, I had rather be nothing. My motive was never the indolent desire of fame, and if I should continue an author, I feel that I should deserve it. This cup is justly given to one only of an age—indeed, participation would make it worthless; and unfortunate they who seek it and find it not."

Renewed intercourse with Byron had immediately dispelled the black ideas which Shelley had formed of him during their separation, and he writes:

"Lord Byron is in excellent cue both of health and spirits. He has got rid of all those melancholy and degrading habits which he indulged at Venice. He lives with one woman, a lady of rank here, to whom he is attached and who is attached to him, and is in every respect an altered man." And again: "L. B. is greatly improved in every respect—in genius, in temper, in moral views, in health, in happiness. The connection with la Guiccioli has been an inestimable benefit to him. He lives in considerable splendor, but within his income. . . . He has had mischievous passions, but these he seems to have subdued, and he is becoming what he should be, a virtuous man. The interest which he took in the politics of Italy, and the actions he performed in consequence of it, are subjects not fit to be written, but are such as will delight and surprise you."

One of the reasons why Shelley had been invited to Ravenna was that he might try to dissuade the Countess Guiccioli from seeking refuge in Switzerland; as he, being independent in the question, and one who himself had suffered, could represent to her in forcible terms the straightness, the petty gossip, and the unpleasantness of Swiss society, as well as the curiosity and even the malicious calumnies of the English residents and visitors. In this negotiation he succeeded, and Byron decided to try some place in Tuscany, which ultimately turned out to be Pisa. Nothing was positively decided at the time about the little Allegra, except that she was to be kept temporarily at Bagna Cavallo. Shelley went to see her at the convent, and convinced himself that the arrangement was in most respects a good one; that she was well, and kindly treated, and even petted, although he added: "Her intellect is not much cultivated. She knows certain *occasions* by heart, and talks and dreams of *Paradise* and all sorts of things, and has a prodigious list of saints, and is always talking of the Bambino. This will do her no harm, but the idea of bringing up so sweet a creature in the midst of such trash till sixteen!" The description of Allegra given in this letter is interesting to compare with the one of her at Venice three years before in "Julian and Maddalo."

Shelley was not without misgivings about Byron settling at Pisa, as he himself had had somewhat the idea of passing the winter at

Florence. First of all, Claire must be got out of the way. She had indeed been already separated from the family, to appease Mrs. Shelley's jealousy; but she had to be kept out of the way to prevent any disagreeable scenes with Byron. Then there were personal questions, for Byron and Shelley differed too much in character and habits to make constant intimate intercourse always agreeable. Personal separations are of use even to the best of friends.

"We are excellent friends," Shelley had written to his wife from Ravenna, and, pos- sibly, Leigh Hunt, "and were I reduced to poverty, or were I a writer who had no claims to a higher station than I possess, or did I possess higher than I deserve, we should appear in all things as such, and I would freely ask him my favor. Such is not the case. The demon of mistrust and pride lurks between two persons in our situation, poisoning the freedom of our intercourse. This is a tax, and a heavy one, which we must pay for being human. I think the fault is not on my side, nor is it likely, I being the weaker. I hope that in the next world those things will be better arranged. What is passing in the heart of a mother rarely escapes the observation of one who is a strict anatomist of his own."

At the same time Shelley thought that Lord Byron's presence at Pisa would afford them a certain amount of security and protection which they might not have at Florence, and after they were all settled there, Byron in the Lanfranchi Palace, and the Shelleys and the Williamses in the Tre Palazzi just across the Arno—Shelley wrote to Fensholt: "Lord Byron is established here, and we are constant companions. No small relief this, after the dreary solitude of the understanding and the imagination in which we passed the first years of our expatriation, yoked to all sorts of miseries and discomforts." Byron persuaded Shelley to see something more of society, and invited him to his weekly dinners, which Shelley attended, though he professed to be bored by them. He was made, too, to take more exercise, rode daily with Byron, and became almost his rival in pistol shooting, to the great advantage of his health. His cousin Medwin, on seeing him after an absence of some months, had found him an altered man. "His health had sensibly improved, and he had shaken off much of that melancholy and depression to which he had been subject during the last year." Shelley wrote to one friend about his tranquil life, his better health, and his lighter cares, and to another: "What think you of Lord Byron now? Space wondered less at the swift and fair creations of God, when he grew weary of vacancy, than I at the late work of this spirit of an angel in the mortal paradise of a decaying body. So I think—let the world envy, while it admires as it may." And again, with regard to Byron's latest volume: "In my opinion, it contains finer poetry than has appeared in England since the publication of 'Paradise Regained.' 'Cain' is apocalyptic; it is a revelation not before communicated to man." In urging Horace Smith to assure Moore that he had not the slightest influence over Byron on religious subjects, he says, "If I had, I certainly should employ it to eradicate from his great mind the delusions of Christianity, which, in spite of his reason, seem perpetually to recur, and to lay in ambush for the hours of sickness and distress. 'Cain' was conceived many years ago, and begun before I saw him last year at Ravenna. How happy should I not be to attribute to myself, however indirectly, any participation in that immortal work!"

Shelley's company and conversation were to Byron a solace, a resource, and an amusement. Each friend did good to the other; but the demon of mistrust came in again, in the persons

* One cannot help recalling a passage in George Sand's 'Valentine,' where Jacques says: "I have never worked on my imagination to light up or reanimate in myself a feeling which did not yet exist, or had come to an end. I have never imposed on myself consistency as a duty. When I have felt that love was dead, I have said so without shame or remorse, and I have obeyed Providence who attracted me elsewhere."

of Leigh Hunt and of Jane Clairmont, especially just before and just after the death of Allegra. The perpetual money troubles of Hunt and his establishment in Pisa caused apprehensions of difficulty, which induced Shelley to write to him: "Particular circumstances, or rather, I should say, particular dispositions in Byron's character, render the close and exclusive intimacy with him in which I find myself intolerable to me." This was at the time when Claire had written another ill-advised and senseless letter to Byron about Allegra, and when Shelley and his wife had, almost in spite of themselves, taken up her quarrel. Mrs. Shelley, wishing for a "lone sea-girt isle," wrote to Mrs. Gisborne: "Shelley is entangled with Lord Byron, who is in a terrible fright lest he should desert him"; and to Claire: "You say great sacrifices will be required of us. I would make many to extricate all belonging to me from the hands of Lord Byron, whose hypocrisy and cruelty rouse one's soul from its depths. . . . To get a furnished house, we must go nearer Genoa, probably nearer Lord Byron, which is contrary to our most earnest wishes." Shelley about the same time wrote to Claire:

"It is of vital importance, both to me and to yourself, to Allegra even, that I should put a period to my intimacy with Lord Byron, and that without *éclat*. No sentiments of honor or justice restrain him (as I strongly suspect) from the basest insinuations, and the only mode in which I could effectually silence him, I am reluctant (even if I had proof) to employ during my father's life. But for your immediate feelings, I would suddenly and irrevocably leave the country which he inhabits, nor ever enter it but as an enemy to determine our differences without words. . . . I shall certainly take our house far from Lord Byron, although it may be impossible suddenly to put an end to his detested intimacy."

What Shelley feared was a duel, although in all probability none of his expressions were literally meant, as he wished only to produce a strong effect upon Claire, for he writes a few days later:

"Your late plan about Allegra seems to me in its present form pregnant with irremediable infamy to all the actors in it except yourself; in any form wherein I must actively cooperate, with inevitable destruction. . . . I could not refuse Lord Byron's challenge, though that, however to be deprecated, would be the least in the series of mischiefs consequent upon my . . . intervention in such a plan. I say this because I am shocked at the thoughtless violence of your designs, and I wish to put my sense of their madness in the strongest light."

Yet when all this was going on, and there was no need of thinking about Claire, Shelley could write that "Sonnet to Byron" which must needs be quoted here:

"[I am afraid these verses will not please you, but]

If I esteemed you less, Envy would kill
Pleasure, and leave to Wonder and Despair
The ministration of the thoughts that fill
The mind which, like a worm whose life may share
A portion of the unapproachable,
Marks your creations rise as fast and fair
As perfect worlds at the Creator's will.
But such is my regard that not your power
To soar above the heights where others climb,
Nor fame, that shadow of the unborn hour
Cast from the envious future on the time,
Moves one regret for his unhonoured name
Who dares these words: the worm beneath the sod
May lift itself in homage of the god."

We all know what happened next. The Casa Magni, near Lerici, was hired for the summer. All that Byron could do was to perform the last sad offices to his friend on the seashore, near Viareggio. Claire could always console herself with the revengeful thought that she had embittered the last years of two great poets.

E. S.

Correspondence.

THE IMMIGRATION BILL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am aware that the *Nation* does not claim to have any great direct influence over the present House of Representatives, but I venture to believe that it is a powerful organ of that public opinion which, Prof. Bryce tells us, really governs the United States. I therefore ask you to allow me to appeal to your readers against certain provisions in the bill on immigration as reported by the Committee of the House of Representatives.

It is unsafe to rely upon telegraphic reports, but Reuter can hardly be mistaken in describing the bill as excluding, not only convicts and polygamists, but also "Anarchists, Socialists, and persons afflicted with any loathsome disease." It is, moreover, undeniable that if the bill is really thus expressed, it represents not unfairly the hasty desire of many specimens of the "average American."

The words "Anarchist" and "Socialist" are at present so unpopular in the United States as to be little better than vague terms of opprobrium. But even members of the House of Representatives might be expected to know that they are the avowed designations of thousands of reputable European political economists, historians, and students of sociology. The "acute outbreak of individualism, unchecked by the old restraints, and invested with almost a religious sanction by a certain soulless school of writers," from which Prof. Foxwell asserts England to be still suffering, may be considered in the United States to be the only possible basis of social organization; but socialism is daily accepted in Europe as the social creed of more and more competent observers.

Do the people of the United States really desire to exclude Socialists from "the land of liberty"? They would find the result a little unexpected. English political economists could seldom land in New York, for a large majority of them would be found to profess themselves Socialists. One who is perhaps our present leader, Prof. Marshall of Cambridge, has at various times publicly proclaimed himself a Socialist, and Cambridge turns out annually a good number of socialist-economic students. It was computed two years ago that out of thirteen courses of political economy being given in London, eight at least were being delivered by avowed Socialists. And would the United States have excluded John Stuart Mill, who proclaimed in his autobiography (pages 231-2) his emphatic adhesion to the Socialist views?

American students resort in annually increasing numbers to German universities. How many of their professors could they invite to visit them in the United States if this bill passes? It may safely be said that a good majority of German economic professors are Socialists of one type or another.

If "Anarchists" are to be excluded, you would shut out half-a-dozen men in the very first rank of European science. Does America not care to hear *Élisée Reclus* on Geography or *Prince Kropotkin* on Prison Reform? It is time that even Americans learned that "Anarchist" does not mean a worshipper of anarchy, but a believer in a particular tendency of social evolution, for which there is admittedly much to be said. Indeed, if you desire to keep the "land of liberty" free from Anarchists and Socialists, you will have to export some of your favorite citizens, beginning with one of your

greatest novelists, and going on to one of your best economists.

Of course, it may be said that the law would not be enforced against such persons as I have mentioned; it is only the disagreeable class of immigrants whom it is desired to exclude. Whether it is expedient or fair to legislate only against the steerage passenger, may be open to question; but I desire to draw attention to the serious danger that such legislation would operate merely as an instrument of foreign tyranny. Any opponent of the system of the Czar is styled a Nihilist, and Prince Bismarck would be able to deny the "right of asylum" in America to any opponent whom he might denominate a Socialist.

For what is an "Anarchist" or a "Socialist"? Is the customs officer at Castle Garden to put test questions to the Bohemian and German immigrant, as, for instance, "Do you consider it just that the whole annual advantage of superior land (known as economic rent) should go for ever to the individual descendants of the first occupant of that land?" The exclusion of persons of lower standards of comfort is, no doubt, a legitimate economic corollary from Malthusianism, but any attempt to set up a new shibboleth in New York harbor as to opinions is not only unworthy of America, but practically impossible.

I am, etc.,

SIDNEY WEBB,

Lecturer on Economics at the City of London College, England.
JANUARY 22, 1889.

[This seems a difference about names. All Anarchists of whom the United States have had any experience avowedly propose to reorganize society by violence, and the same thing may be said of the bulk of the European "Socialists" who come to this country. But we have already pointed out in the *Nation*, long ago, that any attempt to exclude either denomination by law would be futile, because they could not be recognized on landing. Anarchists and Socialists outwardly are not different from Conservatives, and they would only have to keep their opinions to themselves in order to be allowed to go where they pleased. Mr. Webb is unnecessarily alarmed.—ED. NATION.]

SUGAR, TIN PLATE, AND TEA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the debate in the Senate on granting a bounty on sugar made in this country, the statement was made that Germany, France, and Austria had adopted this policy and found it of advantage. The sugar laws of France and Austria I have not at hand, but the German law, approved July 9, 1887, and taking effect August 1, 1888, is very different from the law proposed by the Senate.

Section 2 of that act provides that a tax of 0.80 marks per 100 kilograms shall be paid on the beets used, and section 6 that on every 100 kilograms of sugar, raw or refined, containing not less than 90, nor more than 98 per cent. of sugar, a rebate equivalent to the tax paid on the beets shall be allowed when the sugar is exported. This rebate is fixed by the act at 8.50 marks per 100 kilograms. For the season of 1886-87, the latest figures at hand, 843 kilograms of beets produced on an average 100 kilograms of raw sugar; the tax on the beets, therefore, was 6.75 marks, making a bounty for export, and for export only, of 1.75 marks per 100 kilograms—say $\frac{1}{5}$ of a cent a pound, as

against the Senate proposition to pay the manufacturers 1 cent a pound on all sugar made in this country. The other taxes laid by this law are, on sugar imported, 30 marks per 100 kilograms, and on domestic beet sugar 12 marks per 100 kilograms when entered for domestic consumption.

In discussing the duty on tin plates it was admitted that there are no manufacturers of tin plates in the country to be protected, and that the consumer must pay the enhanced price caused by raising the duty; but, continued the high-tariff members, this increase in duty will cause the establishment of tin-plate factories, and the competition that will result will in the end reduce the price to the consumer.

Following the logic of this argument, I want to put in a plea for a duty on tea sufficiently high to start the business on a firm basis, when domestic competition will reduce the price below the present, and the large amount of money or goods we now pay to China and Japan will be kept at home. As evidence that, even without a duty to help it, tea culture is still in advance of the tin-plate business, I quote the following from the monthly report of the Department of Agriculture of South Carolina for July, 1888:

BUCKVILLE, S. C.

Col. A. P. Butler, Columbus, S. C.

DEAR SIR: I will mail you a sample of tea grown and made by myself here on my farm. I have at least 100 plants four to six feet in diameter and height. Have made all the tea used by my family for years, besides giving away many samples each year. I have no trouble growing the plants. Seldom have one die in transplanting. Obtained seed from United States Government six or seven years ago. This spring made eighteen pounds dry tea at one picking. All who have tasted it speak in highest terms of its flavor, and can and do make two drawings from same leaves, the second drawing about equal to that of first of store tea. I am satisfied that Commissioner Le Due was correct, and that tea can be made a profitable article of growth in our dear old State, where it only requires proper soil and care. I have given mine comparatively little care, indeed. But the soil required is a deep light loam. I have over 100 acres of such. I am satisfied from my trial will make as good tea, I think, as can be grown in China. Yours truly,

B. L. BEATY.

If, then, a part of the business of the United States Government is to build up home products and home markets, let us have a duty on tea.

W. S. A.

Boston, January 29, 1889.

THE INDEPENDENT'S "REVERSION."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One of the most curious developments of protectionism is the theory, propounded by the *Independent*, that no doctrine may honorably be taught in a public institution unless the practical application of that doctrine be allowable under present laws. Of course, no man who has any respect for the necessary laws of thought can stop here. Almost all colleges receive the aid of the State in the remission of taxation; and hence, any one of them which teaches free-trade doctrines is guilty of base ingratitude and dishonesty, so long as freedom of trade is not possible under our laws. But we must go still further. Every individual receives the inestimable benefits of Government in the preservation of his right to life, liberty, and so much of his property as certain classes of protected manufacturers can do without. The conclusion is self-evident: no man can honorably attack the present tariff laws until after they shall have been repealed. But how shall the *Independent* effect its own escape

from the pit which it has dugged for the unhappy free-trader? Has not its able voice been lifted up against an 85-cent dollar? Its editor is surely aware that the coinage of this dollar is required by law, and that no college professor, editor, or private individual can, by its own logic, honorably advocate any other so long as this law shall remain.

Perhaps, however, it is not fair to call up the checkered past of this able journal. This new principle which it has enunciated may be the beginning of a new era, in which the infallibility of the Republican Machine will be consistently maintained. We say "new principle" only with reference to the present era of enlightened civilization. The readers of the *Nation* are well enough acquainted with the history of the Bourbons to recognize the fact that we have in this vagary of the *Independent* only an extreme case of what the science of heredity calls "reversion."

W.

A KANSAS JOKER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial regarding the anti-British resolution introduced into the Kansas Legislature by Mr. Poe does that body, and possibly Mr. Poe, a great injustice. The resolution was introduced, but not adopted, much less "unanimously adopted." On the contrary, it has been the occasion for much merriment with the members; and some of them begin to think that Mr. Poe, who is represented to be a sane person in most respects, has been making game of them and laughing in his sleeve at their discussions.

However, Mr. Poe may be in earnest. Not many years ago a member of the House objected to an appropriation for increasing the library of the State University. "What do they want of more books?" said he. "I don't believe there's a man in the institution who has read all the books they now have." Another member objected to the increase of the Faculty, declaring that they had in his county a man and his wife who could teach "the whole lot" of the students.

But these are merely amusing phenomena—not representative of the Kansas Legislature, any more than Henry James's specimens are representative of American womanhood. If any one wishes to get a fairer notion of the real quality of that body, let him consider at Lawrence the noble beginning it has made for a great university. In addition to the splendid material "plant" characteristic of the West there are two hundred and fifty legitimate college students, a Faculty of thirty, containing men from Berlin, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Yale, Williams, and Dartmouth, and from which, within five years, Princeton, Harvard, Cornell, and Williams have drawn professors; and collections of great value—those in certain lines of natural history unexcelled in America.

Senator Moody has introduced a bill, which has been favorably reported, providing for a government of the University more like that of Ann Arbor, and which will remove the institution from danger of attack by Anglophobists or the others above mentioned.

Very respectfully,

W. H. CARBETH.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

BALLOT REFORM IN CALIFORNIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The ballot reform wave has reached California, and we hope to adopt the Australian system as adapted in the Saxton bill of last year, with certain amendments. The

Young Men's Democratic League, a tariff-reform organization, has been active in the matter, and has been working on a bill already introduced before our Legislature by the Federated Trades Organizations. During our discussions some new ideas have been suggested. One, which has been adopted, is to have the ballot paper water marked with a design to be changed at each election, and to be kept secret until election day. The ballot is to be so folded that the water mark shall appear on the outside. This was preferred to the plan of endorsing by initials, because the latter are so easily counterfeited. Another plan was to have adhesive stamps, to be prepared by the Secretary of State, with the same provisions as to change and secrecy. One of these stamps was to be affixed to each ballot before being given to the voter. A third proposal was to number the ballots and stubs consecutively, the number on the ballot to be surrounded by a perforated line, in order that it might be separated from the ballot just before the latter was placed in the ballot box. We have good reason to hope that the bill will become a law at this session of the Legislature. F. I. V.

SAN FRANCISCO, January 29, 1889.

THE ELECTORAL VOTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since the election of President, either by the direct vote of the people or by the vote of Congressional districts, seems objectionable, a third method may be worth consideration.

Let each State, as at present, have a certain number of electoral votes, but let these votes be divided among the candidates for President in proportion to the popular vote for each. To illustrate: Indiana has 15 electoral votes. At the recent election the State cast 590,949 votes, or 35,793 to each electoral vote. The votes were distributed as follows: Harrison, 93,961; Cleveland, 261,033; Fisk, 9,881; Streeter, 2,694. It is obvious that Harrison is entitled to 8 of the electoral votes, Cleveland to 7.

An examination of the entire vote cast in November shows that, if this method had been employed, Cleveland would have received 205 electoral votes, Harrison, 188; Fisk, 5; Streeter, 3. This result, of course, represents the vote of the whole country much more accurately than the method in use. If the 461 electoral votes were divided among the candidates in exact proportion to the entire vote for each, they would stand, Cleveland, 195; Harrison, 192; Fisk, 9; Streeter, 5.

If this method were to be adopted, the machinery of the Electoral College might be abolished. The executive authority of each State, instead of issuing certificates to the electors chosen, would send to Washington a certificate to the effect that the State had cast so many electoral votes for such candidates. If, however, it were thought best to retain the electors, the requisite number of each party could be appointed, either by naming those having the most votes there is always some scratching of electors; or by taking the names from the head of the several tickets—as is done in the simplest form of proportional representation, the "free list."

It is true that this method is to some extent open to one objection raised against election by direct vote—that the result would not be reached so promptly as by the present method. But the delay, even if considerable, would not be excessive; and it would be a small price to pay for a result which should remove the injustices of the present method.

C. P. W.

DRESDEN, January 22, 1889.

BENJAMIN WEST OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your paper of January 17, and the account of Mr. Walker's book 'A History of the New Hampshire Convention,' etc., I find the following:

"Mr. Walker might have given a dash of 'local color' to his narrative it, in referring to John Langdon and Nicholas Gilman as the delegates of New Hampshire in the Federal Convention, he had explained the reason of their late attendance and why they were not joined by their colleagues, John Pickering and Benjamin West. Mr. Madison tells us in one of his letters that it was not owing to any backwardness on the part of the State to be represented at Philadelphia, but because 'the State Treasury was empty' and the substitution of private resources was found inexpedient or impracticable."

This, as far as my great-uncle Benjamin West (lawyer West, as he was usually called) is concerned is a mistake. His brother, my great-grandfather, the Rev. Samuel West of Hollis Street Church in Boston, left a manuscript record of the West family which lies before me, and I copy this reference to his brother:

"As evidence of his not coveting but even feeling an aversion to publick office, it is sufficient to mention the numerous appointments which he has received from the State to which he belongs, and his uniform refusal to accept them. He was chosen a member of Congress under the old or first Confederation, a member of the Convention which formed the present Constitution, and of the State Convention which ratified that Constitution, and of the first Congress after it was put into operation; he was appointed Attorney General and Judge of Probate, all which, against in many instances the urgent intreaties of his friends, and so as sometimes to excite their resentment at his obstinacy, he resolutely declined. This can be accounted for on no other principle than his extreme aversion to publick life and equal fondness for domestic peace, the enjoyment of which appears to have been his first object through every stage of life."

I have only to add that members of the family to-day regret as deeply as did the relations and friends of his own day, that Mr. West did not take a different view of his public duties. L. W. R.

MILLBURY, MASS., January 28, 1889.

[In cheerfully giving a place to the foregoing communication, we beg leave to say that our statement on the point in question was expressly limited by the authority given for it—"Mr. Madison, in one of his letters." Writing to Jefferson on the 6th of June, 1787, three weeks after the date fixed for the assembling of the Federal Convention in Philadelphia, he said: "New Hampshire has appointed deputies, but they are not expected, the State Treasury being empty, it is said, and a substitution of private resources being inconvenient or impracticable. I mention this circumstance to take off the appearance of backwardness, which that State is not in the least chargeable with, if we are rightly informed of her disposition" (Madison's Works, vol. i, p. 331). Mr. Fiske mentions that John Pickering and Benjamin West were "appointed as delegates, but never took their seats." He does not seem to have known that Mr. West "refused" the appointment, and we were not ourselves aware of the fact until advised of it by our correspondent.—ED. NATION.]

MARRIAGES AMONG THE FRENCH POOR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your interesting remarks on the rarity of marriage among the French poor lead me to ask two questions: (1.) Are the unions they form, as a rule, permanent, and are the rights and interests of children at all respected, or is it practically a system of free love? (2.) Do you mean, as you seem to suggest, that property is a prerequisite to marriage, as, in fact, it so often is to (Protestant) church membership?

Respectfully,

W. M. S.

JANUARY 29, 1889.

[It would be impossible to answer the first question with any approach to accuracy. (1.) As far as we can learn, the unions are as permanent and the rights of children as much respected as among the corresponding social class in any European country. (2.) We mean that legal marriage is in France a somewhat expensive and complicated form, with which a poor couple dispense easily in order to save the money, finding that an illegal union does not lower them in the eyes of their friends and neighbors.—ED. NATION.]

SHAKESPEARIANA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of the 17th, you speak of a new magazine as "an offshoot of *Shakespeareana*, or even its heir." We beg to inform you that *Shakespeareana* is now in its sixth year, a longer period than any yet reached by any Shaksperian journal, and that at no time have we even considered its discontinuance.

The magazine to which you refer has no connection with us, and we trust that you will correct the impression you have made that *Shakespeareana* has been discontinued.

Yours very truly,

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION CO.

NEW YORK, 29 Park Row, January 29, 1889.

Notes.

THREE hundred years ago (winter of 1588-89) Christopher Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus" and probably his "Tamburlaine" were first produced upon the stage, and this anniversary has given an impetus to the desire of his admirers to raise a monument to the "creator of English drama in all its principal branches." A work in sculpture is contemplated, of such size and rarity as the fund raised will warrant; and Canterbury, the poet's birthplace, has officially laid claim to the memorial, which will accordingly be set up there. Lord Coleridge is the chairman of the committee having the matter in charge, with Tennyson, Browning, Swinburne, Leslie Stephen, J. A. Symonds, and other lights of poesy and letters for his colleagues. Prof. F. J. Child of Harvard, Mr. J. R. Lowell, and Mr. Horace Howard Furness of Philadelphia, are named as of the "American Committee," concerning which we have no other particulars.

Something will no doubt be added to the Marlowe fund from this country. To the Darwin fund which resulted in the statue by Boehm, now in the Central Hall of the Museum of Natural History at South Kensington, in a bronze medallion for Westminster Abbey, and in a residue of some \$13,000, now held in trust by the Royal Society to promote biological studies and research, the United States contributed

about \$675, the largest sum from any foreign country save Sweden, which gave about \$1,900. The final report of the Darwin Memorial Fund has just been published.

It has been proposed by the Society for the Publication of Old Norse Literature (*Samfundet til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*) in Copenhagen to publish in phototype reproduction the parchment MS. of the Older Edda. The Danish Ministry has recommended the sum of 4,500 kroner (about \$1,600) for this purpose, and it is likely that the work will be commenced this year. The MS. is at present lodged in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, and as the building is not fire-proof, it is of special importance that a facsimile of this priceless work be secured as soon as possible. Only a few years ago, at the burning of Christiansborg, the Royal Library had a very narrow escape from total destruction. The importance of this codex, certainly the most valuable diplomatic treasure in Denmark, need scarcely be commented upon, but it may be of interest to note that this is the only old parchment copy of Saemund's Edda in existence, and that on it all modern editions of the poems have been based. The publication of this monument is an enterprise that appeals not alone to Scandinavians, but to all Germanic peoples that preserve any feeling of reverence for the old religion of their race. Students of language and religion in Europe and America will welcome the appearance of this great work, and the Society is to be heartily congratulated on its scholarly and patriotic attempt.

Chas. Scribner's Sons have in press 'French Traits,' by W. C. Brownell, a collection of essays some of which have appeared in print in the magazines; and the second volume of the Rev. Marvin R. Vincent's 'Word Studies in the New Testament.'

M. Henri Doniol's 'Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique,' with which we have recently made our readers acquainted, is to be translated by Miss Ruth Putnam and Mr. Alexander Arlathnot, and published (probably in a limited edition) by G. P. Putnam's Sons. They also announce as in press a work by Theodore Roosevelt, on the early history of our Western territory, entitled 'The Winning of the West and Southwest, from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi,' in two volumes, the first of which will cover the period 1569-1783, or to the close of the Revolution.

Lee & Shepard, Boston, will shortly issue a volume of 'Essays, Religious, Social, Political,' by the late David Atwood Wasson. It will include an autobiographic sketch, and a biography of Mr. Wasson by his friend O. B. Frothingham.

There are some books of which it is only necessary to mention their appearance in print to insure a demand for them. Such is the timely work, by Mr. John H. Wigmore of the Boston bar, on 'The Australian Ballot System as Embodied in the Legislation of Various Countries' (Boston: Charles C. Saule). It is seldom that what we may call the contagiousness of our Federal system is manifested as it has been since November last, in the direction of ballot reform, one State following the lead of another with an almost unanimous rapidity. Mr. Wigmore provides an historical sketch of the Australian ballot, and then appends the needful text of statutes in South Australia, Queensland, Great Britain and Ireland, Belgium, Massachusetts, Kentucky, New York; with summaries of those of the Dominion of Canada, Quebec, Tasmania, New Zealand, Victoria, New South Wales, and West Australia—all this with

notes, model ballots, even diagrams. Moreover, Mr. Wigmore invites the sending to him of copies of drafts of bills as soon as introduced, and of laws as soon as enacted, or any pertinent information which may perfect subsequent editions of his work.

Mr. A. Patchett Martin's 'Australia and the Empire' (Edinburgh: David Douglas) is a disappointing book. There is no country which, in its main lines of political development, so closely resembles our own as Australia, while the rate of its development has been still more rapid than our own. Its history is full of most instructive comparisons, and its present problems are almost the same as those with which we are confronted. We need only refer to the system of recording titles to real estate and to the Ballot Act to show that we may receive valuable suggestions from this quarter; but we are obliged to say that nothing of the kind is to be derived from this book. It is singularly aimless and futile. It does not indicate what the relations of Australia to the Empire have been, are, or ought to be; and it appears to have been written merely to allow the writer to relieve himself of a quantity of miscellaneous reflections of the most pointless character. We may dimly discern that the presence of the Irish in the Australian colonies raises difficulties concerning government, education, and religion of a kind with which we are familiar; but this discovery is of little service to us. Possibly Australian readers may find somewhat of interest in these pages; we do not see how they can profit the inhabitants of any other quarter of the globe.

Mr. Albert Shaw has taken the pains to make "a collection of papers by American economists" and issue it under the title of 'The National Revenues' (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.). We are tempted to make the old distinction between an economist and a professor of economics, for the professors, it must be admitted, do not shine in this collection. With the exception of three or four of the papers, the writing and the reasoning are both feeble and confused, and the assumption of *ex-cathedra* airs by men of obviously limited capacity and knowledge produces an effect that is both ludicrous and painful, and is only intensified by their attempts to make up for weakness of argument by appeals to one another's authority. Nor can we attach much value to Mr. Shaw's efforts at critical exposition.

Of a very different character is Mr. John Watts Kearny's 'Sketch of American Finances, 1789-1885,' published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. It is a very careful and scholarly account of the nature of the indebtedness incurred during the Revolution, the manner in which it was funded, and the successive measures by which the payment of the interest and the principal was secured. The causes which affected the debt, its increase and decrease, and eventual discharge, are enumerated, but, in our judgment, are not sufficiently explained. The author's materials are too valuable to be wasted upon a mere sketch of this kind, which is so condensed as to be hard reading, and we are inclined to think that he would do well to expand his work to three times its present size, and, indeed, to continue it down to recent times. There is room for a really good financial history of our Government, and the measures adopted during the civil war have never been made to yield the instruction of which they are full.

'The Stock Exchanges of London, Paris, and New York,' by George Rutledge Gibson (G. P. Putnam's Sons), is a comparative account of the methods of dealing in stocks and bonds in the three great markets of the world. It is

written in a pleasant enough style, but is too superficial to be instructive and too general to be entertaining. Many works on these subjects have appeared, and we do not understand the necessity of making this addition to their number.

'Leaders Upward and Onward' (Thos. Whitaker) consists of twelve brief biographies of noted English and Scotch clergymen, all of whom, with two or three exceptions, were of the Broad Church school. It is edited by Henry C. Ewart, who contributes the chapters on F. D. Maurice and Dr. Arnold. The writing throughout is admirable, and by persons evidently in full sympathy with and considerable personal knowledge of their subjects. Especially interesting are the portraits of Dean Stanley by Prof. R. H. Story, of Bishop Fraser of Manchester by Mary Harrison, and the appreciative sketch of Archbishop Tait by his suffragan, Dr. Parry, the Bishop of Dover. Scarcely less stimulating are the accounts of the Scotch contingent, Edward Irving, Norman Macleod, Thomas Guthrie, and Principal Tulloch. A better representative of the English dissenting ministers, however, could surely have been found than John Curwen, the apostle of the Tonic Solfa method of teaching music. His work, though doubtless important, was on a decidedly lower plane than that of the others.

A 'Discourse in Memory of William Hague, D.D.,' by the Rev. Dr. S. F. Smith, comes to us from Boston (Lee & Shepard), with a good likeness on steel of this well-known Baptist clergyman.

'Topics and References in English History, 1066-1689,' arranged for freshmen class work in Carleton College (Northfield, Minn.), by Prof. C. H. Cooper, will be found a very useful guide for the work of class in this study. Some of the topics seem to us to be rather above the level of freshmen classes, which will find their most profitable work in a clear general outline, rather than in constitutional and ecclesiastical relations. If the number of lessons was to be limited to thirty, we would have omitted some of the topics here given, and brought the lessons down to the present time; for, after all, it is the most recent history that—with the exception of certain important epochs—is of the most value. We should have been glad to see appended to each lesson one really good historical novel. The only ones given are 'Unknown to Fame,' 'Kenilworth,' 'Westward Ho,' and 'John Inglesant'; besides these, Shakespeare's historical plays are named.

Mr. John Ashton finds a fresh title for every new publication of his, but one always knows how he is going to spread his table. His 'Men, Manners and Manners a Hundred Years Ago' (Scribner & Welford) is a smaller antiquarian venture than its predecessors, but it is, like them, the product of scissors and paste—a patchwork of clippings from old newspapers with a semblance of weaving into a general pattern, and illustrated by copies of contemporary caricature and other designs. The year 1787 is the one under review, and is treated in monthly order. The book is amusing and, in a way, instructive reading.

American centennial publications—centennial in both the narrow and the broad sense—abound. Mr. Worthington C. Ford has privately printed the 'Letters of Joseph Jones of Virginia, 1777-1787' (Washington). Judge Jones was a Virginian of no little prominence and local influence in the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary period. Madison was one of his chief correspondents, and most of the series here printed were to that statesman. Mr. Ford has added a few others from the archives of the Department of State, and some from

Washington and Madison to Jones, and has furnished occasional explanatory notes. The collection is very interesting; but we can say no more of it at this time.

The Legislature of Colorado has published a pamphlet 'History of the Eggeston Station of Israel Putnam at Hixson, Colo., with illustrations.' It is a very imperfect history, for it praises the pulpit-spouted patriot who determined the present site of the station on the main street of the village, whereas he was hanged and killed by its surroundings, surrounded and buried. A sad illustration of the character of a country town in 1864, and for its historic associations, we have seldom seen, and all the shocking examples of "soldiers' monuments" in every direction.

'A Vindication of Gen. Nathaniel Hilditch's sons against the Charge of Treasonable Correspondence during the Revolutionary War,' by Dr. George B. Loring, has been reprinted from the *Magazine of American History* (Feb. 1888) (Salmon, Mass.). The vindication was conveyed in 'The Henry Clay's Original Secret Record of Private Daily Intelligence,' which first saw the light in the same magazine.

We should have mentioned before this a scholarly paper on the 'Land Policies of the United States,' by President William of the Columbian University, Washington, D. C., delivered in May last before the New York Historical Society, and by it published. It begins with the disputes of the colonies over the western extension of their territory, and follows the claims, and comes down to the present time, and the acquisition of Louisiana, the Missouri Compromise, and the Mexican War, and Kansas.

A valuable reprint from the *Historical Magazine* (June 1888) is 'The History of the Life and Services of Joel H. Ponssett,' the confidential agent of President Jackson in South Carolina during the nullification controversy of 1832. Mr. Ponssett was a great traveler in his life, and we have some entertaining views on various parts in his letters, especially in Texas. He saw at Baku "the sources of Naptha which are within fifteen miles of the city," and yet fifty miles from the land of commerce.

A life well worth remembering is described in papers read before the Rhode Island Historical Society by its President, William Gammon, and by President of Brown University, 'Life and Services of Richard Gibson Hazard, LL.D.' (Providence). The late Mr. Hazard was one of the best types known by this generation of the New England character—a successful manufacturer, a philanthropist, an idealist, a weighty writer on finance and on philosophical subjects. None of and of his published works are 'The Letters on Emancipation and Freedom in Wilting,' addressed to John Stuart Mill, and 'Economics and Politics.' Mr. Hazard's patriotic services during the Rebellion, his aversion to slavery, and his powerful argument as a mill owner against our monstrous tariff, hardly need to be recalled now, but should never be forgotten.

Another curiosity in periodical literature launched this year is the *Magazine of Poets*, an illustrated quarterly review published at Buffalo by Charles Wells Moulton. It is a strange medley of talent and mediocrity, but to somebody the biographical data and the portraits will prove acceptable, and more or less of the poetry, according to taste.

The *Cosmopolitan Magazine* is taking a fresh start, and the February number is a decided advance on former issues. Mr. M. D. Conway's 'American Nobleman at Mt. Vernon' exhibits Washington in the light of con-

mon day, with the aid of many interesting illustrations. We may also mention Mr. Frank G. Carpenter's "The Koreans at Home," with many cuts; V. Gribayedoff's paper on Verestehagin, with many reproductions of his canvases; Thomas Stevens's "A Visit to Holy Meshid"; David Ker's "Over the Cossack Steppes," etc., etc. Mr. Edward Everett Hale takes charge of the Department of Social Problems.

From F. W. Christern we receive the December number of the *Illustrated Italian Magazine*, which is published in Rome. It can hardly pretend to rival pictorially the *Illustrazione Italiana* of Milan, and it lacks the attractiveness of being in a foreign tongue.

We are requested to state that Prof. Wm. A. Keener, of the Harvard Law School, succeeds Prof. Thayer as General Secretary in America of the Selden Society; and that Mr. John W. Houston, 346 Broadway, as Local Secretary in New York city, succeeds Mr. Alexander Tison, who has accepted an appointment as Professor of Law at Tokio, Japan.

—If there were any doubt that ballot-reform had come to be a question of great interest to the people, it would be dispelled by the appearance of a discussion of it in that home of timely articles, the *Century*, and by that writer who has the knack of knowing what the people are thinking about as do few of his cloth, Dr. Washington Gladden. There is nothing particularly new in his "Safeguards of the Suffrage," but he puts with great force the truths which most thoughtful men will admit, and no better messenger than the *Century* could be found to carry his words throughout the land. The more striking parts of the Lincoln biography, as it progresses in the February number, have already been given to the public, and serve anew to show on what large lines the Illinois country lawyer was laid out. The "Romance of Dollard" comes to a right tragic end, as it needs must in fidelity to the history it follows. The completion of the story gives occasion to renew the commendation with which its opening was greeted; it is altogether a piece of strong and fine work. We are glad, remembering our adverse comment on the first of the series, to say that the third of Mr. Jessop's stories of Irish life in California seems to us very successful and pleasing. Art is represented in this issue by an affectionate study of Gérôme, with several illustrations from his works, and the short paper, in the Italian series, on Simone Memmi, with two of Mr. Cole's full-page engravings. Practical affairs receive attention in Edward Atkinson's article on "Slow-Burning Construction," which will bring to many a great deal of information about the development of New England factory-buildings. "The Revival of Hand Spinning and Weaving in Westmoreland" hints at the practical, too, but really reveals mainly an experiment in a Raskin-born fancy and in a cumbrous benevolence.

—Volumes 5 and 6 of Stedman and Hutchinson's "Library of American Literature" (Chas. L. Webster & Co.) form the second and third parts respectively of the "Literature of the Republic." Channing leads off, and the selections from this writer exemplify at its best the discrimination of the editors. A burning question of the present day probably determined them to make their one selection from Henry C. Carey his argument against international copyright. Criticism of a whole class of text-books is involved in a passage from Charles Follen: "As soon as the historian of a nation ceases to think that posterity will be benefited by the knowledge of the faults, as well as the

merits, of their ancestors; or, rather, as soon as he has any other object in view than to represent them as they actually were, whether deserving of censure or imitation, he forfeits his right to describe them." It is because they have been mindful of this that Mr. Stedman and Miss Hutchinson have given so large a place to the gravest of all faults in the founding of the Republic. In these two volumes we meet with Benton's bathetic account of the "high-toned duel" between Clay and Randolph; Beverly Tucker's "Partisan Leader," a foreshadowing of secession; Garrison's Declaration of Sentiments and other landmarks; Pierpont's "Fugitive Slave's Apostrophe to the North Star"; Mrs. Child's "Chloe"; Channing's letter to Jonathan Phillips; Seward's speeches on the higher law and the irrepressible conflict; William Leggett's editorial defence of "ultimate abolition" against Southern threats of disunion; George Fitzhugh's "Cannibals All"; Whittier's "Ichabod"; John Brown's address to the court that condemned him; Jeff Davis's speech on withdrawing from the United States Senate, and his first inaugural; Toombs's five stipulations of the South as the alternative of disunion; and Lincoln's Cooper Union address of 1860, first and second inaugurals, emancipation proclamation, and speech at Gettysburg. More on this topic might have been borrowed from Horace Mann, Palfrey, Richard Hildreth (his "Archy Moore" combining imaginative with historical excellence), and Edmund Quincy, whose satirical anti-slavery side has been altogether overlooked.

—The purely literary aspect and entertainment of this instalment are to be sought in authors like Bryant, Cooper, J. P. Kennedy, Halleck, N. P. Willis, Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, and Poe—the last five being very capiously represented. Robert Dale Owen's "Footfalls," Josiah Quincy's "Figures of the Past," the leading historical works of Irving, Mrs. Keble's "Records of a Girlhood," Audubon's "Ornithological Biography," etc., contribute further to the general readableness. We remark again the laudable practice of forming a national portrait gallery by competent hands, as, Benton on Jackson, C. J. Ingersoll on Jefferson, Ticknor on Prescott, Everett and Seward on J. Q. Adams, Choate on Webster (with one breathless sentence two and a half pages long), Longfellow's verse to Hawthorne, Alcott's sonnets of character, etc. Finally, a classic in temperance literature, Dr. Cheever's "Deacon Giles's Distillery," has been preferred, perhaps wisely, to his anti-slavery thunders.

—A friend writes to us:

"By the way, the writer of the interesting summary of Döllinger's address on American Literature, by some misunderstanding, makes him say: 'Appleton's Biographical Dictionary devotes a section to inventors, as we elsewhere might to soldiers or to lords.' What Döllinger really said, and was perfectly correct in saying it, was, according to the report of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, that in Appleton's dictionary the epithet inventor is applied to a number of persons as a designation of their profession or occupation."

—A work on 'Eminent Domain,' by Mr. John Lewis of Chicago, recently published, contains a reference to six thousand cases in this country in which private property has been taken for public use. This list contains perhaps all, or nearly all, the cases decided. Inasmuch as they are, as the author says, an indication of material progress and of public improvements, they make the subject of an interesting commentary. New York heads the list with 830 cases; Massachusetts, the next highest, claims 599. Among the Western

States, Illinois takes first rank, showing 377, followed closely by Indiana with 366. Of the Southern States proper, Louisiana takes the lead, though Georgia, showing 87 cases to her 98, may be allowed, nevertheless, to insist upon being the "Empire State of the South," seeing that the reports of these cases extend back at least fifteen years further in Louisiana than in Georgia. Though one of the oldest States, Georgia had no Supreme Court, and consequently no "Reports" (if we except one or two containing a collection of decisions in the Superior Courts of the State) until 1845 or 1846, whereas Louisiana, though much her junior as a State, had at that time already issued many volumes of decisions pronounced by the highest court of the State. Last of all comes Florida, with only six cases—one half as many as the new State of Nevada.

—While not devoid of its usual general instructiveness, the annual report of the President of Harvard University for 1887-88 raises no important question, and furnishes few topics of discussion. Even the vista of a definitive policy in regard to intercollegiate athletic contests, half opened last year, is closed. If everything in this regard is not quite for the best in the best of worlds, the "general utility" of these contests has been "demonstrated" since the last report. They do indeed intensify "many excesses and evils connected with athletic sports," but the Faculty are comforted by the improvement in the physical condition of the average student, and "they hold that dyspepsia is less tolerable than a stiffened knee or thumb, and that effeminacy and luxury are even worse evils than brutality." Holders of scholarships hereafter must manifest, not athletic distinction, but such a bodily condition as will satisfy the Director of the Gymnasium that they observe the laws of health and are likely to keep down the death-rate of the beneficiaries, which is now one-quarter of one per cent. too high. The gifts to the University last year amounted to some \$300,000, of which the larger half was the bequest of the late Mrs. Ellen Gurney, or, as President Eliot points out, jointly hers and her husband's, the late Professor Gurney. It is for the support of higher instruction in history, political science, and literature, in a comprehensive sense, with a view to the promotion of original work. Women have been among the contributors to the new building for a Botanic Museum—in fact, were a majority of all, and some of the larger donors. A former beneficiary of the Divinity School has given back with interest the amount received by him, and it is remarked that this sort of restitution has been more conspicuous in the case of the Divinity School than of any other department of the University. The School is now prosperous, and turns out graduates for whom there is "an active demand" and "immediate employment." Mr. Alexander Agassiz gives notice of his intention ere long to withdraw from the active charge of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, which owes so much to his munificence and executive capacity, and which will be left enormously enlarged and self-supporting. Mr. Agassiz desires to be free to devote himself to scientific investigation. On the whole, the University in all its departments seems to have been exceptionally flourishing during the past year.

—The most interesting thing in the seven volumes of the new Weimar edition of Goethe thus far published is a hitherto unprinted fragmentary sketch of the original plan of the Second Part of "Faust." The find consists of half-a-dozen pages of manuscript, defective both at the beginning and at the end, and

covering in print pages 173-177 of the second division of volume 15. The sketch is mentioned by Eckermann, under date of August 10, 1824, who says that it was intended for the third (new) book, or what we now know as the eighteenth book, of "Dichtung und Wahrheit." The reason of its non-appearance in that place is obvious: it was in 1824 that Goethe first definitely determined to complete "Faust," and it became thus quite unnecessary to furnish the public with a *brouillon* of a work which it was soon to have in full. Although, as above remarked, the sketch is but a fragment, there is enough of it to make it extremely interesting; it shows how simply and clearly the story took shape in the poet's mind, how closely it attaches itself to the legend, and how far it is from all that frigid allegory and deep-dwelling metaphysic which a whole generation of interpreters insisted upon reading into it. The sketch has the further value that it throws much light on the poem as it stands, even where the latter differs radically from the first concept.

— The bare outline of the story presented is as follows: *Faust* is disclosed sleeping; nothing is said of mountains or of sunrise. Spirits sing to him alluring songs of honor and power, and he wakes up cured of sorrow and sensuality. *Mephisto* appears and describes in a facetious vein the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, alleging that *Faust's* presence is desired by the Emperor Maximilian. The pair go to Augsburg, where *Faust* is kindly received at court, having first forbidden *Mephisto* to pass the threshold or to practise magic arts in the Emperor's presence. *Faust* now converses with the Emperor about the black art, but soon gets into difficulty and looks around for *Mephisto*, who has approached and now joins in the conversation, speaking in *Faust's* name. He makes a favorable impression, and presently "manifestations" are called for. *Faust* goes away to get ready for them, *Mephisto* meanwhile amusing the court by practising as quack doctor. Evening comes on and a magic theatre takes shape. *Helen* appears, and is unfavorably criticised by the women. Soon *Paris* shows himself, and is adversely commented upon by the men. The spectators cannot agree as to what shade shall be called up next; several illustrious spirits appear together, *Paris* and *Helen* become uneasy, confusion arises, and suddenly the apparitions are gone. *Faust* is in a swoon, *Mephisto* runs away, and the spectators have uneasy sensations. When *Mephisto* returns, he finds that *Faust* has fallen violently in love with *Helen*, and insists on possessing her. *Mephisto* replies that she belongs to Orcus, and that while she can be called back temporarily by magic, she cannot be retained. But *Faust* insists so passionately that *Mephisto* agrees to try to gratify him. *Faust* is now installed in an old castle, whose owner is absent in Palestine, and whose castellan is himself a magician. *Helen* now reappears, wearing a ring which gives her a corporeal existence. She thinks she is just returning from Troy to Sparta. She is lonely and longs for society, especially for the society of men. *Faust* appears as a German knight. *Helen* at first thinks him ugly, but finally yields to his suit. The pair have a son who, from the moment of his birth, has a fancy for singing, dancing, and playing pranks. Here it is explained that the castle is encompassed by a magic line within which alone these sham occurrences can take place. The boy has strict orders not to cross a certain track; but one day, as he hears music and sees soldiers dancing on the other side, he disobeys

orders, crosses the stream, mingles with the crowd, gets into a quarrel with the soldiers, and is killed. *Helen* is inconsolable, wringing her hands in despair, and in so doing pulls off her ring. She vanishes into nothing, leaving only her dress in *Faust's* embrace. *Mephisto* now tries to comfort him for his loss and to interest him in the pleasures of proprietorship. The owner of the castle has died in Palestine, and monks are trying to get possession of the estate. Their formulae destroy the magic circle, and *Mephisto* advises the use of force. He provides three powerful champions for *Faust*, who, thus assisted, defeats the monks, avenges the death of his son, and becomes a great proprietor. Here, unfortunately, the fragment comes to an end.

HUME'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH STRAHAN.

The Letters of David Hume to William Strahan, now first edited with Notes, Index, etc., by G. Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L., Pembroke College, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1888.

READERS of Burton's "Life and Correspondence of David Hume" will recall the regret expressed by the biographer at the "unfortunate loss" of an extensive correspondence which was known to have been carried on by Hume with "the eminent printer, William Strahan." Strahan, in connection with Thomas Cadell, a famous Scotch bookseller in his day, was publisher for Dr. Johnson, Dr. Robertson, Blackstone, Adam Smith, Gibbon, and many other literary dignitaries of the last century besides Hume. In 1774 he was of sufficient consequence to be elected a member of Parliament. Select portions of this correspondence between Hume and his printer were shown to George III. soon after the historian's death in 1796. That Burton should have so easily despaired in his search simply because somebody told him, as he says, that it was Strahan's "practice to destroy all the letters addressed to him," is not a little surprising, for one of these letters had been published in the *London Chronicle* of June 1, 1777, nearly a year after Hume's death, and had subsequently worked its way into popular histories of England. It is quoted textually in such a familiar book as Wade's "British History Chronologically Arranged."

It now appears that these letters (a few numbers only are missing) were found in the summer of 1887 in the hands of a London autograph dealer, and, the Earl of Rosebery having generously purchased the whole series to prevent their dispersion, they were committed by him to Dr. Hill for editing. It was natural that this scholar, fresh as he is from the elaborate annotation of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, should have approached this new task with a good measure of the same commentating zeal which he brought to that most delightful of biographies. Indeed, the "neat rivulet" of the text meanders here so lazily through the "meadow of margin" which spreads out before us that we sometimes have to dredge for our Hume through wide sandbars of literary reference and large continents of historical site. No nice detail of the learned grammarian is too small, no "coney-catching art" of the delving commentator is too recomdite to escape the scrutiny of Dr. Hill. One wishes sometimes to whisper in his ear that the "average reader" of modern times may be safely assumed to know some things. We hardly need to be told exactly where we can find the story of Dares and Eutellus in the *Æneid*, or in what book and at which line of Lucretius we should look for the much-besotted passage beginning "Sicuri, mari magna, etc." Even when the keen scent of Dr.

Hill for ferreting out a literary allusion may occasionally serve us a good turn, we could none the less wish that he had rather called us far afield in quest of larger game. It pleases us somewhat to know that Master Daniel Wray intended a delicate allusion to Hume in Book III, Ode 34, line 57, when he tells us that Hume on one occasion, while attending a congress at Liverary, was compelled "by the admirations pay maker to make one of those in a task." But we should have been greatly more pleased if our learned critic, with such ample resources at his command, had at once exercised himself with a higher order of problems, with telling us, for instance, in this very matter of chance and gregarious fellowship, how it was that Hume, in the changeable politics of his time, should have sometimes found himself "playing together in the same truckle-bed" with stranger and fellows than any he could possibly have encountered at Liverary. For these letters to Strahan, in throwing a new light on the political opinions of Hume, not only with regard to the American Revolution, but also with regard to the general political situation of England in his troubled epoch, may be said to throw new light on the whole political creed of the great Tory historian. Burton, with all the admiration proper to a biographer, is frank to admit that the political opinions of Hume hang very loosely on him, and would hardly be said to have the consistency of a creed, inasmuch that he was "tolerant of any system of politics which bore the air of philosophy," and would "for his reason vacillate between opinions of the most opposite character in practical politics." This judgment of the biographer finds a singular confirmation in the letters before us. On all questions of purely domestic politics the Scotch philosopher here figures as a Tory of the Tories, but on most questions of foreign policy he out-Whigs the Whigs in the extremity of his liberalism. For example, we find him writing to Strahan under date of October 25, 1769, that he "hopes" to live long enough he was then fifty-eight years old "to see a public bankruptcy, the total revolt of America, the expulsion of the English from the East Indies, the inundation of London to less than a half, and the restoration of the government to the King, Nobility and Gentry of the realm." And then, as if he had wished still more to emphasize the antithesis between his foreign and his home politics, he immediately subjoins: "I hope also that some hundreds of patriots, Wilkes, Alderman Croker, 'that rascal Beckford,' etc., etc. will make their exit at Tyburn and improve English eloquence by their dying speeches." In another letter (June 25, 1771) he laments that all the flowers of the royal prerogative are faded or gone—the right of the King to remove judges at will, the privilege of General Warrants, of expelling members from Parliament, and of wielding the coercive powers of the House of Commons in support of Government measures. "For God's sake," he exclaims, "is there never to be a stop put to this inundation of the rabble?"

But with all this "Jingoism" for home consumption, we find him, from the year 1759 down to the day of his death, setting his face like a flint against the foreign policy of the Tories with regard to America. In 1771 he writes to Strahan that "in the nature of things" the union between Great Britain and the American colonies "cannot long subsist." On a rumor reaching him at Edinburgh in 1775 that the Ministry were minded to withdraw both fleet and army from America, he hastens to write that he could wish himself a member of the Cabinet that he might second this measure, which, he prophetically added, "only anti-

pates the necessary course of events a few years." He pronounces the conquest of the colonies to be impossible. "Arbitrary power," says the philosopher to his Tory friend, then sitting in Parliament (for Strahan was a thorough-paced Tory), "can extend its oppressive arm to the antipodes, but a limited government can never long be upheld at a distance, even where no disgusts have intervened." After remarking on the confiscations, hangings, and "acts of destructive violence" which could alone reestablish the British dominion in America, even if a conquest were possible, he dismisses the topic with these words: "Let us, therefore, lay aside all anger, shake hands and part friends. Or, if we retain any anger, let it only be against ourselves for our past folly, and against that wicked madman, Pitt, who has reduced us to our present condition. *Dici.*"

It is difficult to understand exactly what Hume meant when, with his high Tory notions and his fondness for kings and lords, he professed himself "an American in his principles." Can it be true, as Dr. Johnson once snarlingly said, that Hume was "a Tory by chance, as being a Scotchman," and not at all a Tory "upon principle," as being "upon principle a Hobbit"? How could he write to Strahan that "it is a pleasure to hear that the Bill-of-Rights men are fallen into total and deserved contempt," when a little later he is found writing to his nephew that "the republican form of government is by far the best"? Was it the personal influence of Lord Hertford which made him reactionary in his home politics, or was it the conservatism inspired by historical studies? Was it the personal influence of Gen. Conway (Lord Hertford's brother) which made him hope for the successful revolt of the American colonies, or was it his mad hatred of the English—"those factious barbarians," as he calls them? These are among the enigmas suggested to us by these letters, and we would willingly forego half a hundred explanatory notes on things which need no explanation, for a little light and leading on such topics.

From other sources than Dr. Hill's text or annotations we are abundantly informed that Hume was private secretary and afterwards Secretary of Legation under the Earl of Hertford at Paris, from 1763 to about 1766, and that he was Deputy Secretary under Gen. Conway during a part of that Minister's term of service as Secretary of State from 1765 to 1768. But Dr. Hill grows parsimonious in his references to the politics of both Hertford and Conway precisely at the point where the politics of the two brothers bifurcated simultaneously in the same two different directions discovered by the letters of Hume. In the whirligig of politics peculiar to that period of turmoil and upheaval, Hertford became the Lord Chamberlain of the King's household in 1771, and Gen. Conway became the leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons to the American war. While his brother, in the name of the King, was notifying Wilkes and the Livery of London that his Majesty would no longer receive insulting pleas for American rebels when offered in the guise of "humble petitions" addressed to the throne, Gen. Conway was openly proclaiming in Parliament that he would never draw his sword against the insurgent colonies, defending as they were the hereditary rights of British subjects. "Better peace with America," he said, "and war with all the rest of the world, than war with America." On the very day (April 5, 1775) when the Tory, Rigby, predicted that "the Americans would not fight," he warned the Commons against "the dreadful consequences" which must ensue

"should the sword be once drawn." On the 29th of February, 1776, he scouted the idea of reducing America "as impracticable and absurd." A few weeks later we find Hume writing to Strahan in the same sense.

Was it the antagonistic influence of these two brothers, each a friend and patron of Hume, which kept him "vibrating" between opposite poles in the political world? Or, siding as he did with Hertford on questions of home politics, was it because of his own strong Tory proclivities; and, siding as he did with Gen. Conway on American politics, was it because of his own strong antipathy to the English domination—an antipathy which made him wish not only for the defection of the English colonies in the western and eastern continents, but also for "a general bankruptcy" of the Government? On all such questions Dr. Hill leaves us to our own devices.

Hume's hatred of the English ("the factious barbarians of London," "the barbarians who inhabit the banks of the Thames," as he habitually calls them) was already sufficiently known, but it breaks out *ad nauseam* in these letters. In one of them he protests against "the mad rage of the English against the Scots." The English, he adds, are "a mobbish people," whose opinion "happily gives him [me] no concern"—a proof of the concern he felt. In another letter he intimates that he would like to turn his attention to a species of historical composition which "has no reference to the affairs of these factious barbarians." In still another he avers that if he shall be "silly" enough to keep on writing "more British history," he will take good care "not to warp his principles or sentiments in conformity to the prejudices of a stupid, factious nation with whom he is [I am] heartily disgusted." All this is in perfect keeping with the contemptuous surprise he once expressed that Gibbon's History should have been written by an Englishman, as also with his sardonic disavowal addressed to Adam Smith against publishing "The Wealth of Nations," because a work so "full of reason, sense, and learning" was too good for "the wicked and abandoned madmen."

We have not been much surprised to find the old "Walpole Land Grant" cropping out in these letters. Strahan had an interest in that land-jobbing scheme. Thomas Walpole, a London banker, and Benjamin Franklin were prime movers in it. The project dated from 1760, and contemplated a large land purchase on the Ohio River. This speculation, which Hume thought could never "turn to great account," opened for a time a pretty active mud volcano in our colonial politics. Besides casting up a good deal of mire and dirt in the debates of the day, it threw Lord Hillsborough, the colonial secretary, out of office in 1772. He was disgusted to find that Franklin's influence with the Privy Council was greater than his. The Revolutionary War soon came to put an end to the negotiation, and everybody remembers the curt and irate letter with which Franklin bade adieu to his fellow-stockholder, Strahan, at the beginning of the Revolution: "You have begun to burn our towns and murder our people. Look upon your hands; they are stained with the blood of your relations. You and I were long friends; you are now my enemy, and I am, yours, B. FRANKLIN."

Dr. Hill will regret to learn that notwithstanding the useful aid afforded him by that excellent historical scholar, the late Dr. Israel W. Andrews, he has missed the opportunity of citing some very apposite historical references under this head. For instance, he quotes Smollett's allusion to the "Twightees" who

once inhabited "the delightful plains" which it was purposed to cover by the Walpole grant, but he never tells us who the "Twightees" were, though the designation must be very obscure to the modern English reader, and though abundant records exist in which he might have traced the habitat and affinities of that old Miami tribe of Indians. And then, the reference suggested by Dr. Andrews to the proceedings of the Continental Congress on May 1, 1782, when this land grant came up for discussion, should have been preceded by an earlier reference to the debates of September 4, 1779, and should have been followed by a later reference to the proceedings of Congress on the 16th of August, 1782, when Arthur Lee, then a member from Virginia, publicly flouted Dr. Franklin as an unfit man to conduct negotiations for peace, because he was reputed to be "interested in Western lands," and therefore had a personal motive for seeking to bring these lands under the jurisdiction of the United States, instead of leaving them under the jurisdiction of Virginia. It was the last eruption of the mud volcano. It might be added that Lee had good reason for his virtuous indignation. An earlier land-job of his had been squelched by the Walpole concession.

These letters contain nothing new on the origin or merits of the quarrel between Hume and Rousseau. In its day this was a famous *eschandre*. Hume wrote to Mme. de Boufflers in 1766, when the quarrel broke out, that if the King of England had declared war against the King of France, it could not have made more noise in London drawing-rooms. Readers who are familiar with the "Concise Account" and with the "Private Correspondence of Hume," as published in 1829, need not turn to this volume in quest of a single newly discovered gossip tidbit, but they will find in Dr. Hill's notes a salmagundi compounded from what is most savory in the remains of this literary scandal.

We do, however, see in these letters that Hume, after imprudently allowing his Paris friends to rush into print with a French version of the pamphlet, became heartily sick of the publicity he had provoked, and repented of his angry passion so soon as he was called to take measures for an English edition of the brochure. He writes to Strahan on the 4th of November, 1766: "I wish it were possible not to print an edition in London, because the whole affair will appear perfectly ridiculous to the English." After some correspondence about certain details of the publication, we find him railing at Strahan for some printer's negligences which had made "the silly pamphlet" (so Hume calls it) appear in a still more ridiculous light. The reader will remember that Morley, in his *Life of Rousseau*, while frankly exonerating Hume from the blame of instigating the quarrel, does not exonerate him from the blame of instigating a needless publication of it in printer's ink. The sober second thought of Hume had anticipated the comment.

In taking our leave of this book, we ought perhaps to say, as a matter of justice to Dr. Hill, that if in his former contacts with Boswell, while editing the *Life of Dr. Johnson*, he may seem to have caught at all the *lues Boswelliana*, it is only in the mild literary form of that harmless malady. He has not a particle of that adoring awe with which "Bozzy" prostrated himself before the Grand Lama of his idolatry. On the contrary, while doing full justice to Hume's "noble industry as a scholar," he is sometimes even severe in his animal aversion on the grave faults and unmanly foibles which marred, as he conceives, the symmetry of the philosopher's character.

far more rapid in the last part of the period. The "unearned increment," therefore, was what carried the reform through to a successful issue. After 1818 the advance in land values was arrested, and the peasant purchases diminished or ceased.

In twenty years after the reform—

"the product-fold increased nearly 25 per cent., and the annual harvest was nearly doubled. The largest part of the waste was cultivated so that the cultivated area was greatly extended. The export of grain was doubled while the home consumption greatly increased. Stock was increased and improved. All products advanced in price, and the value of land increased nearly three-fold. Agriculturists who before had been poor and in economic straits, both proprietors and villeins, now felt how wealth poured forth from the ground. Great activity was awakened in agriculture. Agriculturists, formerly locked fast in the routine of the old system, were freed. A new system of land cultivation began to make its way." "Enterprises were begun which even now seem ahead of the times. . . . New plants were introduced (clover, tobacco, potatoes, rapeseed, etc.) and new sorts of grain. . . . Old tools were thrown aside and new ones introduced. . . . Experiments were made with new and noble breeds of animals. . . . They began in places to move buildings to the new farmsteads on rollers, American-fashion. The same feverish struggle forward meets us in the history of Danish agriculture of that time as in the most rapidly advancing portions of modern society, also the same evils—land-jobbery, overindebtedness, and the labor question."

There was great need for capital in carrying out the reform. The expense of parcelling and scattering was reckoned by Reventlow as high as \$14 per acre. The State set up a land bank to assist in this respect, it being a paper-money period. When the market turned, the indebtedness thus incurred brought ruin to those who had not freed themselves.

From 1788 to 1800, although other classes of the population remained nearly stationary in number, the cottagers nearly doubled. This was the response to the new demand for labor under the wages system; but the cottagers increased so rapidly that they deprived themselves of all share in the general improvement of the period. There were two classes of them—those who had allotments of land, and those who had not. The former gained by virtue of their crops, but those who depended on wages did not gain. The numbers of these two classes were about equal. The landlords and new farmers built cottages for this class, as a means of attracting them, but in many cases made it a condition of the house lease that the cottager should work for the house owner so many days per week and so many days in harvest; from which arrangement arose a new sort of servitude, which still exists.

M'KENDRICK'S PHYSIOLOGY.

A Text-Book of Physiology. By John Gray M'Kendrick, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Glasgow. Including Histology, by Philipp Stöhr, M.D., of the University of Würzburg. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. 1888.

THE first volume of this treatise, entitled "General Physiology" (pp. xxv, 516), introduces the subject with an unusually full and satisfactory account of the province of physiology, the phenomena of life, and the relation of these phenomena to those of physics and chemistry in harmony with the doctrine of the conservation of energy. The main part of the book consists of short treatises on chemistry, physics, and physical methods, histology, embryology, bacteriology, the microscope and microscopical methods, and the physiology of the simple tissues. This manner of treatment becomes in-

telligible upon consulting the preface, where it is stated that the book is designed for the author's own students, and is the outgrowth of his needs as a teacher in a great medical school where those who come for instruction in physiology have had practically no preparation in chemistry, physics, and histology, and the methods of investigation in these subjects. The teacher must accordingly clear the ground by explaining the principles of these collateral sciences, and the methods of demonstration, before making a special application of them to physiology. The language is clear and simple, sometimes even partaking of the semi-colloquial directness of the lecture room. The first part, in fact, appears to be made up of a series of lectures arranged as they were given, and from the variety of subjects introduced it is not a pleasant book to read consecutively, on account of the constant interruption of the proper subject-matter in order to discuss methods or the principles of collateral sciences; and while it is inferior to several of its predecessors, it probably represents better than any one of them an actual course in physiology in a great medical college where the fundamental related sciences are not required for admission, and where histology, the microscope, microscopical and bacteriological methods form part of a course in physiology. Condemnation, therefore, of the introduction of these subjects into a text-book of physiology would be a condemnation of the present state of medical education in Great Britain and America.

Of the 166 pages devoted to chemistry, the parts differing most markedly from other works are the accounts of fermentation, the animal pigments, and the value of chemical formulae. The discussion of animal pigments forms one of the most satisfactory and welcome parts of the volume. The same commendation cannot be given to the chapter on fermentation, as almost the only reference is to the organized ferments, while those which are unorganized or soluble, and which produce the true physiological fermentation in the processes of digestion, etc., are very briefly, almost parenthetically, mentioned. Hence the beginning student of physiology would inevitably obtain his fundamental idea of a ferment from some living object like the yeast-plant, instead of from one of the unorganized ferments with which he is more directly concerned, for the understanding of the digestive and some other processes of the body. The methods of bacteriological research given with this chapter seem very incomplete and unsatisfactory when compared with works written by specialists upon the subject, and it is hard to see how the value of the work is enhanced by the addition.

The discussion of the physiology of the tissues represents fairly well the present state of knowledge. As a rule, recent investigation has been considered, especially that done in Great Britain and America; but some of the latest and most accurate work has been overlooked. This is most noticeable in the physiology of muscle, where the elaborate investigations on its change of volume and specific gravity during contraction are not noted, and the old statement that a muscle decreases in volume during contraction is repeated and sanctioned. Following the physiology of the muscular tissue is an exceedingly interesting and suggestive chapter on the phenomena of the electric fishes; but it is doubtful whether a consideration of these phenomena will assist the student so much in gaining an insight into the complexities of muscular and nervous action as is hoped for by the author.

The histological and microscopical parts of the book were taken largely from Dr. Philipp

Stöhr's 'Lehrbuch der Histologie,' with the consent of both author and German publisher. The treatment of histology is more elementary than one would expect in so ambitious a text-book as the one under review, and is as a whole inferior to that of many English and American works. Histology is one of the prominent features in both anatomical and physiological text-books of the present day, but this one is distinguished by the introduction of the methods of microscopical research. This innovation must be condemned, for, from the nature of the subject, the treatment must be inadequate. The methods given are mostly good, but many are incompletely described or needlessly complex, and several are antiquated; for example, the method recommended for preparing cartilage would produce appearances about as unlike the natural ones as it would be possible to obtain. Admitting the desirability of introducing methods, however, there is one admirable feature of the work: the way in which the preparations figured were prepared is given either in the description of the figure or in the appendix to which reference is made; but the claim in the preface that this is a unique feature is somewhat surprising, for it is common to nearly all treatises and monographs on histology from the classical work of Schwann (1839) to those of the present day; it is also found in some works on gross anatomy. It is no less surprising to find the assertion that the illustrations "are not diagrams, but drawings of real preparations," as though most histological figures were drawn from the imagination. They really illustrate the text, and are mainly of a good quality.

Typographically the work is excellent. Very few errors appear, and most of these are so evident that they may be easily corrected by the reader. The mistake in the statement on p. 5, that the human red blood-corpuscles are "7.7 microns, or .077 mm.," in diameter would not be so easily corrected, and, to increase the difficulty, the approximately correct size is given, under blood, p. 290, as 7.5, instead of 7.7 microns. Unmistakable errors of statement are also infrequent, but a few occur which would prove very misleading to students: on pp. 318, 320, it is said that the epithelium of the conjunctiva of the eyelids is ciliated. The white blood-corpuscles of warm-blooded animals are said (p. 295) to move very slowly, and the movement "can only be detected by careful observation with the aid of the hot stage." When warmed to the temperature of the body, the white blood-corpuscles of man move almost or quite as vigorously as do those of cold-blooded animals, and at the temperature of a comfortable sitting room the movement is often quite rapid, and in nearly every case noticeable. It is opposed to the teaching of modern embryologists to affirm (p. 248) that "the notochord becomes the bodies of the permanent vertebrae and the basis of the cranium." This statement is indirectly contradicted even by the author on pp. 251, 252, where he states that bony tissue is developed from the mesoblast, and the notochord from the hypoblast.

Statements are usually positive, but made with care and after duly weighing the evidence; but not enough stress is laid upon exceptions. It looks as though the author disliked to spoil the effect of a striking and easily remembered generalization by giving exceptions; for example, on p. 312, it is affirmed that "the contraction of the transverse striped muscle is quick and under the control of the will," no exceptions being given, not even that of the transversely-striped muscle of the heart. A similar unqualified statement is made concerning the distinction between the red blood-cor-

puscles of animals on p. 300, where those of birds, reptiles, amphibia, and fishes are said to be distinguished from those of mammals by their large size, oval and biconvex form, no mention being made of the fact that in the lamprey eels the red corpuscles are circular and biconcave, like those of mammals. On p. 434 occurs a marked example of the tendency to state a probability as a truth when it is said, with reference to the increase in size of a muscle by exercise, etc., that "the enlargement is due both to the development of new fibres and to an increased thickening of the older ones." This is probably true, but it is only an assumption, and not a part of established knowledge. From the very nature of the case the muscular fibres cannot be measured and counted before and again after the increase in size of the muscle, and no conclusive observations have been made as to the relative size and number of the fibres in the same muscle of individuals with varying muscular development.

Art in the Modern State. By Lady Dilke. London: Chapman & Hall.

THE title of this book is somewhat misleading. It is not, as one might expect, a discussion of the position of "art in the modern state," or of the influence of art upon modern civilization, or of modern civilization upon art; indeed, it contains little discussion of any sort. It should in strictness be called a "History of French Art under Louis XIV."

The period is not greatly interesting by its achievement. Between the glories of the Renaissance and the freer and more personal art of to-day, the pompous formality of Le Brun and the mild correctness of Le Sueur seem flat and insipid. Even the art of the next generation, the art of Watteau and of Fragonard, frivolous though it be, has a piquancy and charm altogether wanting in the magnificent commonplace of the *grand siècle*. Nevertheless, it is a period of great importance in art history, for it is the time of the academic organization of art. In this time were founded the French Academy, the various Academies of Architecture, Painting, etc., which make up to-day the Institut, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and the French School in Rome. For good or for evil, the influence upon modern art of the academic system then founded has been inestimable, and the history of its founding was well worth the writing.

For good or for evil? One must read between the lines a little to know what Lady Dilke's answer is. The book is, as we have said, mainly a history, with little digression into theoretic or philosophic reflection, and the history deals often with small men and small intrigues, with the names of third-rate and no-rate artists, and the dates of third-rate and no-rate works. Yet, if the details become sometimes fatiguing, the grand lines are firmly traced. The first chapters treat of "France under Richelieu" and of "France under Colbert," and show clearly the conception and the execution of the great scheme of organization and of centralization which created the "modern state"; the succeeding chapters show in detail the application of this scheme to the arts, while the conclusion refers briefly to the modern reaction, "the protest against the suppression of the Renaissance."

One of the most interesting chapters is that which deals with the Gobelins and the Savonnerie. Nowhere did Colbert's idea of art as an organized function of the state meet with a more indisputable success than in the founding of these vast workshops for the production of

"meubles de la Couronne," which turned out not only tapestries and carpets, but objects in almost every branch of what we know as industrial art, and where the artisans were regularly trained by celebrated artists in the drawing of the figure, on the principle that "the highest and widest possible artistic training is none too good for your art-workman." The resultant beauty and thoroughness of workmanship have never been lost to the French, and have given them that preëminence in art-manufacture which, to apply a merely material test, has been worth millions of dollars to their nation.

But if the influence of the academic system has been clearly for good in the minor arts, what has it been in the fine arts, properly so called? Has the work of Academies and Schools of the Fine Arts and the Prix de Rome been upon the whole a beneficial or a deleterious work? Lady Dilke seems to believe, as do we, that it has been in the main beneficial. We are in the midst of the reaction, and our ears are filled with denunciations of Salons and medals and prizes. All these things, we are told, encourage only mediocrity, and genius makes its way without them or in spite of them; and we are bid to consider Millet and Corot and Courbet, or perhaps Manet and Monet, and are asked what the official and academic system did for them but to try to crush them. Yet we cannot forget that all these men were Frenchmen, and that it is the one nation possessing a thoroughly organized academic system of art training and art encouragement which has produced them. Granted that Salon after Salon is filled with the work of highly trained mediocrity; is the untrained mediocrity that fills the exhibitions of some other countries, preferable? Granted that training cannot produce genius, it can give it its weapons. As Lady Dilke says, "the very antagonists of this system have owed to its method and discipline more than half their practical strength." The office of an academic training in art is to preserve a high standard of excellence in workmanship—to compel all who would attain recognition as artists to become first of all good craftsmen. The very perfection of technique which it induces may make more visible the lack of contents in the work of the mediocrities, but it insures that the work of the geniuses shall be sound. It does not make geniuses of the workmen, but it makes workmen of the geniuses, and the most erratic and rebellious of the artists of France have felt its influence in spite of themselves, while the greater and soberer ones have knowingly profited by it. A Turner would be impossible in France; a Bandry would be impossible out of France; and one such name is enough to mark as successful the system that has produced it.

The book is well written, and is supplied with index and appendices, and the printing and proof-reading seem to have been excellent.

Letters of Felix Mendelssohn to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles. Translated from the originals in his possession, and edited by Felix Moscheles. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1888.

THIS is a charming collection of letters—the record of a memorable friendship, based on a complete harmony of taste and feeling, and unmarred by a single discord. It appears from the preface that the letters addressed to Moscheles came into his son's possession in 1870, but they have not been made public before because "many passages occur in which prominent musicians of those days are unreservedly criticised"—passages which the present editor "felt

as little authorized to suppress as to publish during the lifetime of those alluded to." He trusts that "they will be none the less interesting now that time has judged between the critics and those criticised." On the contrary, these passages add immensely to the value and entertainment of the book. Mendelssohn had a rare gift of literary expression, and knew not only what displeased as well as what pleased him, but how to convey his impressions to others. For instance, this is what he has to say of Berlioz, who may be said to be at the musical antipodes of Mendelssohn:

"We were all curious to know what the result of French genius would be. I say French, for so far no other country but France has recognized Berlioz as a genius. But, oh! what a rattling of brass, fit for the Porte St. Martin! What cruel, wicked scoring! As if to prove that our ancestors were no better than pedants! . . . Then the mystic element—a progression of screeching harmonies, unintelligible to all but the March cats! To show that something terrible is agitating the fevered brain of the composer, an apoplectic stroke of the big drum shakes to shivers the efforts of the whole orchestra, as also the auditory nerves of the assembled audience."

Again:

"At first he made me quite melancholy, because his judgments on others are so clever, so cool and correct; he seems so thoroughly sensible, and yet he does not perceive that his own works are such rubbishy nonsense."

This was no hasty judgment, but the expression of a feeling running through all his criticism. Speaking of Beethoven's music, he recurs again to the subject of brass:

"Then, again, that constant use of the brass! As a matter of sheer calculation it should be sparingly employed, let alone the question of Art! That's where I admire Handel's glorious style: when he brings up his kettledrums and trumpets towards the end, and thumps and batters about to his heart's content, as if he meant to knock you down—no mortal man can remain unmoved. I really believe it is far better to imitate such work than to overstrain the nerves of your audience, who, after all, will at last get accustomed to Cayenne pepper."

Mendelssohn liked nothing eccentric in music. He says, for instance, of "a book of mazurkas by Chopin," that they are "so mannered that they are hard to stand," while some of Liszt's music he speaks of as "depressing" and "very stupid," denies him altogether "original ideas," yet speaks of him very highly as a pianist. Most people's judgment of their contemporaries is apt to be capricious, and often governed by personal considerations. Mendelssohn, as he disliked, so also heartily liked, and we have to accept his admirations as well as his criticisms with certain reservations. For instance, it is impossible to believe that Moscheles himself is musically as important a figure as these letters make him out.

This book is a sort of companion volume to the charming "Life of Moscheles," edited by Mrs. Moscheles. It gives an impression of Mendelssohn never to be effaced. There is a charm and grace in his letter-writing so remarkable that we can only compare it to that of his music. His relations with Moscheles and his wife are those of a friend whose affection is never dimmed by a sordid or interested motive. Quotations, except in the critical passages, would fail to give any idea of the letters, which, filled with gaiety and childlike playfulness (the illustrations abound with that sort of humor), put us at once on familiar terms with the writer and those to whom he writes, please us with their glimpses of a charming mind and heart, and leave us (and what is more rare?) better pleased with ourselves and with the world for having made the intimate acquaintance of a man of genius.

Rides and Studies in the Canary Islands.

By Charles Edwardes. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1888. Pp. xx., 365. 8vo.

If the Canary Islands do not increase in popularity with English and Americans as a health resort, it will not be because attention has not been directed to their merits. Mr. Charles Edwardes's entertaining description of his three months' sojourn among them follows very closely the two large volumes on 'Tenerife and its Six Satellites,' by Mrs. O. M. Stone, which appeared a little more than a year ago, to say nothing of numerous recent works in other languages. From this latest account, the only comfortable place for our countrymen still seems to be Puerto Orotava on the north coast of Tenerife. Here, in a valley extravagantly praised for its beauty by Humboldt, who saw it, however, at the beginning of his travels, sheltered from the hot southern blasts, the invalid may enjoy perpetual summer, the thermometer varying only from a mean of about 62° in January to 77° in August. If he wearies of the palms and the sunshine, he can climb the steep slope of the Peak, passing through every variety of climate and vegetation, until, if he have energy enough, he comes almost to the region of perpetual snow on the summit, 12,180 feet above the sea. Add to these advantages the extraordinary dryness of the atmosphere, at night equally with the day, and an excellent hotel, and it is difficult to see what more can be desired. The want of carriage-roads, however, restricts all but the experienced rider to a small part of the island. Mr. Edwardes, indeed, made the tour of both Tenerife and Palma, but the ride was difficult, and at times dangerous, from the *barrancos* or ravines, some of a tremendous depth and nearly perpendicular sides, which are to be crossed at every few miles. There are also numerous lava-beds and slopes covered with pumice, which, under a scorching sun and with water unattainable, make travelling for the time anything but pleasant. Under these conditions, it is hardly necessary to add that the accommodations for tourists, outside the largest towns, are of the very roughest character. Among other excursions made by the author was a short trip to the Grand Canary and the ascent of the Peak, which was fatiguing and disappointing on account of the clouds.

Interspersed with the narrative are incidents of the early history of the islands, in which, however, the traditional and the historical are not always clearly distinguished. The author is not strictly accurate in his assertion that "the first civilizers of Florida were Canarians, and the city of St. Augustine in that State, which claims to be the oldest European settlement of the United States, was founded in the sixteenth century by a contingent of seventy families from Santa Cruz," the fact being that Menendez brought the first colonists from Spain.

Mr. Edwardes gives, on the whole, a favorable impression of the present condition of the islands. Notwithstanding the decline of the cochineal industry through the invention of aniline dyes, and the destruction of the vines by the oidium disease, the indications of prosperity are not wanting. Roads are being constructed, harbors improved, and school-houses "broadly sown over the land." In the sleepy town of Laguna, the ancient capital of Tenerife, our traveller even found a palace converted into a "workingmen's club." The founding hospitals, however, in every town still bear witness to a low state of morals among the islanders. In this respect, as in some others, the aboriginal inhabitants, the Guanches, ap-

pear to have been superior to their conquerors. Among other things, the son of a noble could not be received into the ranks of the nobility if it could be shown that "he has made raids in time of peace; if he has been uncivil or spoken amiss, especially to a woman." "In the island of Grand Canary, a noble would never wound or kill any one, except in a stand-up fight. And in time of war, when he had his enemy at his feet, he would not kill him."

The author is always entertaining, and gives an apparently truthful and unexaggerated description of what he saw, adding also in an appendix a few useful hints to the intending visitor. The illustrations are in some cases excellent, especially those of the buildings, but those of the scenery do but scant justice to their subjects.

Wellington; or, The Public and Private Life of Arthur, first Duke of Wellington, as told by himself, his comrades, and his intimate friends. By G. L. Browne. London: Allen & Co. 1888.

A book of this kind, if the execution had corresponded to the conception, would have been a really valuable contribution to the literature of history. While the echoes, so to speak, of a great man's achievements are still ringing in our ears, the mind finds a lively interest in the collection of all particulars respecting those achievements. But as these achievements recede into the past, interest in the man himself takes the place of the interest that once was felt in the things that he did. We want to know the secret of his power, the causes and the nature of the influence he exercised over his comrades and friends—the man, in a word, in his habit as he lived. It is because they supply us with this kind of information that so much of interest attaches to works like Mme. de Rémusat's 'Memoirs of the First Napoleon.' The Duke of Wellington was not a genius like the first Napoleon; but in an age prolific in the production of great men, he stands assuredly for one of the most remarkable—remarkable, not alone as a great and successful military commander, but for his patriotism, his rigid and unbending honesty, his admirable adherence through life to a lofty ideal of duty. One would gladly have the picture of such a man as it appeared to "his comrades and intimate friends." Mr. G. L. Browne has given us nothing of the kind. He seems, indeed, to be altogether unaware of the wealth of materials which exists for the construction of such a picture. He has been content to skim, with a pair of scissors in his hands, the pages of half-a-dozen well-known books, and to excise such passages as he thought effective—the total result being as sorry a bit of book-making as we ever had the misfortune to peruse.

For a right understanding of the after successes of the "Iron Duke" there is no portion of his career so indispensable as his Indian campaigns. The victor of Salamanca and Waterloo was there in process of making. The years he spent in India covered the most momentous period of the British connection with that country. His brother, the Marquis Wellesley, was then Governor-General, and under his conduct the East India Company had, for the first time in its history, boldly stood forth as the paramount power in Hindostan. That claim was disputed by the leaders of the great Mahratta Confederacy, whose armies were trained and led by French officers. General Wellesley, who was intrusted by his brother with the conduct of the war in the south of India, formed one of a group of distinguished Indian officials. The Duke was not very susceptible to feelings of

friendship, and it is therefore the more worthy of note that he retained through life a special cordiality and friendliness for these early comrades of his—Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone. In the lives and letters of these men there is much of the greatest interest about the Duke on which Mr. Browne has wholly omitted to levy contributions. The Indian despatches, too, of the Duke exhibit a degree of penetration into character, a capacity for establishing cordial and confidential relations with Oriental statesmen, which show that, despite the apparent inflexibility of his character, he possessed the abilities of the diplomatist in a hardly less degree than those of a soldier. But of all this nothing whatever appears in Mr. Browne's hasty and superficial compilation.

Matters are not much improved when he takes his readers into Spain, France, and Belgium. Wellington's "comrades and intimate friends" are, for the most part, conspicuous by their absence. The title-page naturally suggests that during these eventful years the reader is to be told how Wellington impressed, as a soldier and a man, those who fought under him, as well as those to whom he was opposed. What did his own lieutenants think of him—Grahame, Hill, Beresford, the Napiers, and others? What did the French Marshals whom he successively defeated—Soult, Victor, Masséna, Marmont, Jourdan? Their sentiments are all on record, but Mr. Browne apparently is unaware of the fact. At any rate, he produces nothing which proves the contrary; and the worst of it is that even with the books which he has looked at, he has quite a remarkable capacity for overlooking or ignoring the most characteristic stories. Thus he has looked through Charles Greville's *Memoirs* and missed two delightful anecdotes which are therein recorded. The one has reference to the Duke's Spanish despatches. Greville informed the Duke, as they chanced to be riding together, that Lord Brougham had declared that there was more of political wisdom to be found in these despatches than in all the works of Thucydides. "By G—, sir," replied the Duke with straightforward simplicity, "and that is quite true. I can't imagine how the devil I came to write such things." The other story is quite idyllic. It tells how Greville, calling at Lady Jersey's house, found that she and a party of thirty-two little children were starting for Astley's Theatre to see the *Battle of Waterloo* performed, the Duke of Wellington having been pressed into the service as a military escort appropriate for the occasion and the play. The Duke in his later years was exceedingly fond of the society of little children, and there is something beautiful and pathetic in the old hero witnessing in such innocent company the counterfeit presentment of himself and his achievements. The "Iron Duke," as he was called, possessed, in truth, a deep well-spring of humanity under an unsympathetic exterior. A man of war from his youth, he never lost his sense of the frightful sufferings which follow in the wake of war, and no general of any age or country ever strove with greater earnestness to protect from pillage, assault, and incendiarism the people and the country visited by his armies. In after life he had a hand always open to the pleadings of distress. He was accustomed to carry a store of loose guineas in his pocket, to reward any of his old soldiers who might happen to address him. His scorn of all deviation from the strictest justice is well exemplified in the following story, which Mr. Browne has done well to include in his volume:

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